Henry Kissinger

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even with a razor blade. So our rotary blades

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no matter what kind of beard you have.

Incredibly close! But with nine close-

can shave them away-below skin level!





A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

WRITING about the new doubts concerning the traditional American work ethic, Donald Morrison found last week, can be hard work. "For one thing," he says, "the elements in this essay are so compelling and interwoven that you can summarize them no more easily than a Nabokov novel. And journalists are so accustomed to burning the midnight bulb that you have to remind yourself repeatedly that things can be different in other lines of work

Saigon Bureau Chief Stanley Cloud can serve as Exhibit A of the work ethic in journalism. "In Viet Nam," he says, "correspondents routinely labor twelve hours a day. When you are not covering the story, you are writing about it; when you are not writing about it, you are talking about it." Late last week the Saigon bureau learned the outlines of the secret peace plan reliably reported to have been developed in Paris. Cloud's report became the principal part of our cover story on the negotiations. Timothy James, a veteran of many late-breaking stories on the war, worked through Sat-

urday writing the article. Reporter-Researcher Robert Goldstein assisted. running down contradictions in information and checking the finished story. It was Goldstein's second cover assignment in two weeks. "I look at it this way," he says. "Theaters and restaurants are terribly crowded on Saturday night.

One does not have to be in our Saigon bureau or Nation section to keep busy. Hardly was martial law declared in South Korea last week when Tokyo Bureau Chief Herman Nickel was on his way. After getting a scarce seat on the night's last plane, he arrived in Seoul to find a midnight curfew, hotel rooms booked solid, and Korean officials reluctant to talk. Nickel persisted, and he pro-



duced this week's story in World Paris Correspondent Paul Ress fought more basic elements to reach the Valley of Marvels in the Maritime Alps for a report to the Science section. The site of a rich collection of Bronze Age art, the valley is blocked by snow ten months of the year. Ress traveled there in a Jeep over a goat path, across creaky wooden bridges-in the midst of a rainstorm. If anything could dry up one's ardor for work, it might be covering a drought in India. New Delhi Correspondent William Stewart journeyed 1,000 miles to remote Andhra Pradesh, spent a day in near-100° heat talking to farmers, and most of the night writing. For his troubles, he contracted dysentery -then learned that publication of the story had been postponed.

In Brussels, Correspondent Roger Beardwood paused near the end of a twelve-hour day to cogitate about newsmen's work addiction. "What else is there in life," he concluded, "except increasing your knowledge, burnishing your prose style and sitting at the telex? Beaches are boring, and skiing is a very expensive way of descending rapidly what you have ascended slowly

Ralph P. Davdson INDEX

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ALL SMALL CARS SOLVE THE PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE BIG CAR. OUR SMALL CAR SOLVES THE PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE SMALL CAR.

This year, economics and the conditions of urban traffic will drive millions of Americans to the small car.

These American converts will discover, however, that most small cars, for all their virtues, can have two major problems of their own, First, lack of inside space, And second, compared to the 425-horsepower monsters Americans are used to driving, disappointing performance.

Which is why we thought you'd like to know about a small car that doesn't have those problems. The Fiat 128. One of the big reasons why in Europe, where they've been living with small cars for three generations.

they buy more Fiats than anything else. You see, ever since we invented the small car in 1936, our engineers have been



pay a big-car still have the roominess and performance they needed. Asfor

room while the Fiat 128 is shorter outside than a VW Beetle. it's bigger inside than an Oldsmobile Cutlass and has a 13 cu. ft. trunk. In fact. 80% of the car's space is devoted to you and vour luggage.

Ferraris, Porsches, and Jaguars.

giant truck or merge into fast moving highway traffic? If you've got to accelerate from, say, 40 to 70 mph to do it, the Fiat 128's overhead cam engine gives you ar edge of more than six car over America's favorite small car. And since stopping fast can be equally important, it has self-adjusting front



THAN PUSHING. THAT'S WHY WE HAVE FRONT-WHEEL DRIVE.

disc brakes Lastly, there's another item that distinguishes the Fiat 128: front-wheel drive. This means superior handling and performance, because the wheels that move the car are also the wheels that turn the car. And because pulling is a more efficient way to move something than pushing.

(It also means superior traction in ice and snow. In fact, for the last two years the Fiat 128 has won the Canadian Winter Rally. which is run over ice and snow the likes of which we hardly ever see in the States.) The Fiat 128 is available in 2-door.

4-door, and station wagon models. To appreciate just how good it is, you should know that in Europe, where each country is fiercely proud of the cars it makes, the Fiat 128 has won more international Car of the Year awards than any small car in car history. Or any big car, too, for that matter.



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Look for Souverain whites. Crafted the way great wines should be. They're hard to find, but worth searching for SOUVERAIN CELLARS

RUTHERFORD NAPA VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

LETTERS

Fire or Ice

Sir / The title of your cover article "The Two Americas" [Oct. 2] reflects the contem-porary delusion that the American political organism is fractured into two parts. It is as if there existed a left and a right hand without the great body in between.

For the Middle American (conceiving

that term in the economic, not cultural or social sense) there is no choice in the presidential election. On the Nixon side there is a caste of the superprivileged; on the Mc Govern side, a caste of the underprivileged The "apathy" which you allude to reflects a dim awareness on the part of the Middle American that he has been given a choice between death by fire or by ice CECIL D. EBY

Tecumseh, Mich.

Sir / You seem to suggest, both through explicit statements and not so subtle innuendo, that anyone who supports Nixon must

Writing of this sort is insulting both to the integrity of a large segment of the Amer-ican public and the intelligence of your own

TODD ROTHBARD

Sir / If Richard Nixon is indeed less compassionate than George McGovern, it is not a Methodist. Instead, one might say it is be-cause his early religious education did not take.

F.B. GODEKE

Sir / It is strange how people will go along with President Nixon on Viet Nam and possibly give up their lives, but they won't follow the McGovern ethic of helping one's

Birmingham, Mich

Sir / According to TIME, McGovern's view of government is paternalistic, whereas Nixon's is individualistic, McGovern will give you the basics of life and then tell you how to live, whereas Nixon will give everyone the opportunity to make and live his own life. The choice is clear.

Nokesville, Va.

Sir / George McGovern doesn't frighten us We are old enough to recall all the fears about that "terrible radical" Franklin D.

Roosevelt, who proved to be an outstanding Who should be afraid of a label? We

in the presidency now. Boulder Creek, Calif.

Sir / Considering his many solid accomplishments, why is it so "astonishing" that Nixon has such a big lead in the polls? How could we go for four years of whining, com-plaining, vacillating and indecision by one

NEAL ROHRER Kingsburg, Calif.

Sir / I think your story about "two Americas" was laced with truths, but you copped out in the last paragraph. Where is the increased sophistication you attribute to to-







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HUNGARIAN, MANDARIN, MEXICAN AND ITALIAN FOOD ARE ALL ALIKE.



They'respicy. And, when you serve dishes that people have been spicing up for centuries, you need wine that's been bried to himp ferry dishes doesn to tolerable temperatures. In Hungary, where people east what must be the spicest date on earth—poprishe with everything—they've developed just such wines—a tradition of fine wines—a tradition of fine wineshing that's outlasted empressemaling that outlasted empressemaling that outlasted empressemant that the outlasted empressemaling that outlasted empressemaling that outlasted empressemaling that the outlasted empressemaling that

There's "Bull's Blood" — Egri Bikaver—a robust red wine that's excellent with steak, roasts, venson, and goilash; Tokay Aszu — golden, fragrant, exquisite, a dessert wine once so scarce it was known as "Liquid Gold"; Greyfriar Szurkebarat — a dry, full-bodied white wine with a characteristic mellou bouquet unique to Hungary's Lake Balaton region.

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Great wines to serve with spicy food.

International Vintage Wines. San Francisco. Merchants of the finest pottlings of Europe and California

LETTER:

day's electorate if the voters are Iras willing to discuss issues? Perhaps the issues
today are too painful for Americans to be
honest with Hemselves about The war,
poverty, racism, etc. draw sharply uncomfortable contrasts between our professed
ideals and our country is recent policies and
candid not even curious shoult the rost cause
es of these national failures of the "Amercan Dream."

ROBERT L. GAY

Sir / I'm a 37-year-old WASP middle-class Southerner I liked Ike, backed Nixon against J.F.K. watched polls for Goldwater, worked for R.M.N. against H.H.H.

All of my years perched on the elephant's back have taught me one truth, the G O.P. has never done a beneficial thing for ordinary folks and never will. Its basic philosophy is to let the people bite the bullet with the factor or fetter.

while the fat cats get fatter
I'm now a Republican for McGovern.

Carrollton Ga

Pat and Eleanor

Sir Hooray for Eleanor McGovern (Oct. 9)! At last there could be a woman in the White House who is willing to stand up and be connected for whate he believes, who is capable of discussing issues and who would be more than a china-doll First Lady. How interesting to contrast her style with that of Mrs. Nixon, who can say after a cross-country trip that she didn't see any problems.

try trip that she didn't see any problems
(MRS) JEANNE BREAUGH
Lansing, Mich

Sir / Without m doubt. Eleanor is prettier than George But for all her create eyelashes and frosted hair, her image is still one of a wife parroting the absurd, any-promise-

Facoma, Wash

Sir / Since everyone is so enamored of the candidates wives surely it must be time for a woman to campaign for the presidency

> PHYLLIS TURNER Lucson Ariz

Why Did They Come?

Pittsburgh

Roasted Cats

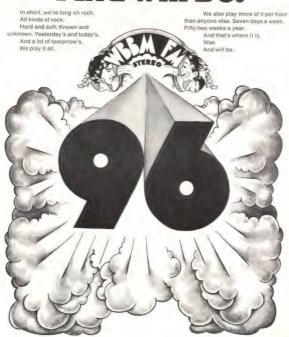
Sir. And, it came to pass that three and, war activates journeyed to the came of the enemy to excert three American prisoners to excert three American prisoners of war backs to prisoners the extending the extendi

After I treat you like the chairman of the board on the plane, I give you 29 branch offices in Germany when you land, so that being there will be as easy as getting there.

The Red Baron



Where rock is. Was. And will be.



The art of Lingering



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For \$5 a day.

They used to be called "nannys." In Old Jamaica. (From the African word "naana," meaning grandparent.)

In today's Jamaica, they're called "nursemaids" and they're a professional service.

They're trained, under the government's eye, in first aid, swimming, child care.

And they look like Arviel Ferrigan (right), young (19 to 25), educated and as limber as any five-

year-old.

For visitors, Jamaica's Nursemaid Service is a Big Bargain.
(Even with the extra cost of lunch

which must be provided.)
But it's even more.

You get to know us. Personally.

As part of your family.

You'll hear about our Br'er Rabbit (Annancy the Spider) and kling-kling birds and breadfruit treesand Punchinello and "funnin" and what it's like to grow up in a land where the whole country is a playeround.

If you want to take your kids sightseeing (the \$5 fee, incidentally, covers caring for two of them from 9 to 7), the nursemaid will go along to Dunn's River Falls or Rose Hall or Boston Beach or rafting or Boonoonoonoos kite-flying.

You couldn't find a better companion.

Especially for people aged 6 months to 10 years.

For more about modern "nannys", ancient Annancy, birds or Boonoonoonoos, see a travel agent or Jamaica Tourist Board in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Washington, D.C., Dallas.



If weekends were meant to be dull, they'd come on Tuesday and Wednesday.



This weekend doesn't have to be like last weekend.

This weekend, you can afford to fly away on one of Eastern's 70 low-cost Autumn Weekenders. Leave Friday. Return Monday. And spend an exciting 4 days and 3 nights in no place like home.

The prices we've listed above apply between now and December 15, and don't include meals or taxes.

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For complete details, see your travel agent or call Eastern at 467-2900 in Chicago.

HAVE A NICE WEEKEND.



EASTERN The Wings of Man.

them-causing the profit-seekers to scream like roasted cats. And to, the propaganda victory had turned to ashes.

Dayton

Sir / That the cynical men of Hanoi should seek to use P.O.W.s as political guided mis-siles to influence the American election is hardly surprising.

Of one thing I am very certain: Americans will never tolerate such interference in our election process. Woe to the politician who seeks to win by becoming a "Man-

Who is Unemployed?

Sir / Your article on unemployment. "Not Enough Jobs" [Oct. 9], takes my words far, far out of context

The President has been working to achieve an economy that will provide jobs for everyone who wants to work. In the meanwhile, in treating one part of the unemployment problem, we need to concentrate federal manpower programs on training the unskilled. My words, in correct context, referred only to that one aspect of

The President reduced overall military manpower levels, which added large num bers to the work force, and he reduced de fense contracting, which reduced the num-ber of civilian defense jobs. Yet employ-ment has reached 82.2 million, an alltime jobs over the past two years.

It is inaccurate to suggest, as your ar-ticle implies, that the total unemployment rate and numbers represent people who have lost their jobs. Of the 4.8 million unemployed in September 1972, 635.000 left



It sends music out in all directions, surrounds you with sound everywhere in the room, Big, fully lit clock numerals and FM/AM dial. Radio lulls you to sleep, shuts itself off, wakes you next morning. The Luminar, model C472W-hear it at your Zenith dealer's. At Zenith, the quality goes in









an oasis for your ears



WHAT TO DO WITH WINE BESIDES DRINK IT.

Keep wine in a

Unfortunately, wine doesn't come with instructions. And lots of people have never known much about its proper care

We at Inglenook Vineyards would like to take this time to give you a few pointers on the subject We spend a lot of time and money in the making of our wine And once it passes out of our hands, we'd like to feel that it's being given the best possible treatment

DON'T MAKE THIS COMMON MISTAKE.

Wine should always be stored lying down on its side, never standing up That's so the cork will lways be moist



degrees year round

right. But the most important thing is that the temperature be constant. It should vary no more than a few

DECANTING WINE.

If you have wines five years old and older, they may have a little sediment in them In order to serve the wine without the sediment getting mixed up in the wine, you should decant it

To do this, just pour the wine very slowly into another bottle or carafe. Place a candle behind the neck of the bottle and the second you see a little sediment coming across, stop.

THE ROOM TEMPERATURE MYTH.

White wines and sparkling wines such as Champagne and rosé should be served cold. How cold is cold? 45 degrees is just right. If you don't have a thermometer, put the wine in the refrigerator for 21/2 hours before serving Or in a bucket with ice cubes and water for 15 minutes Red wines should be served at room

temperature. But this doesn't mean 72 degrees The "room temperature" standard was established in Europe long before the invention of central heating. At that time, rooms in Europe were about 65 to 68 degrees, which is the perfect temperature for serving red wines. You can bring a wine's temperature down to that level by placing it in the

refrigerator five minutes before serving But never heat a bottle of red wine in order to get it up to the proper temperature. There's no quicker way to destroy a bottle of wine than to heat it up.

AVOIDING THAT METALLIC TASTE.



Remove the metal capsule from the top of the wine bottle below the lip With a napkin. clean off the top between the cork and the glass This is done because it's impossible to pour wine from a bottle without spilling a little on the lip And since the metal cap is sometimes corroded the wine

could pick up a metallic taste if it were to spill over the edge.

Now remove the cork, gently, so as not to disturb the wine. We recommend the wing-type corkscrew because you don't have to jerk it to get the cork out

A FINAL WORD OF CAUTION.

Now that you know the basics of how to treat wine, you should also know there aren't many wines around that deserve this kind of treatment Because there's nothing you can do at home to

save a wine if it's been mishandled at the winery. Which brings us to Inglenook

We take elaborate precautions to make sure our wine is handled properly For instance, the walls of our wine cellar are

3 feet thick limestone, which keeps the temperature constant Our wine casks rest upon a dirt foundation,

instead of concrete, the usual practice. This promotes fresh air circulation, and it also stabilizes the humidity If you look on the label of our wine, you'll

see the words, "Produced and Bottled by Inglenook Vineyards This means we produce the wine from start

to finish, in order to make sure that our wine is never mishandled

Naturally, this kind of extra care costs extra money

And we pass the extra cost right on

Inglenook is the most expensive wine made in America So when you pick up a bottle of it, take good care of it And it'll take good care of you.





Which of these cities has the biggest voter turnout?









Chicago

St. Louis



San Francisco



If you're a politician, you know the answer is Chicago.

Among these cities, it had the best voter turnout of those eligible to vote, in the last Presidential election.

Chicago's rurnout: 68.3%. Which compares with 61.8% for the U.S. as a whole

So in 1968 only about six of every ten Americans who

President did so.

Why so few? The CBS Owned AM

radio stations in these seven cities believe that a reason for lack of interest is lack of information.

So we try to stimulate the one by supplying the other. Before the primaries, New Yorkers could write to WCBS Newsradio for the tenyear voting records of the then

11 Presidential candidates. KNX Newsradio brought Los Angelenos three full-hour broadcasts of editorial endorsements and rebuttals on 1972 California office-seekers.

WEEI Boston won a national award for its drive to register 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds.

With this kind of political information, we help get out the vote.

Because, to update an old American slogan, we don't believe in taxation-or anything else-without representation. And there's only one way to get it.

The CBS Owned **AM Stations** We feel responsible to over

60 million people.

WEEI Newsradio 59, Boston WCBS Newsradio 88. New York WCAU Radio 121, Philadelphia WBBM Newsradio 78, Chicago KMOX 1120. E Louis KCBS Newsradio 74, San Francisco KNX Newsradio 1070, Los Angeles Represented by CBS Radio Spot Sales





Built to be seen. Not heard.

Take a good look at the new Satellite Sebring-Plus We've restyled it to give it a look we think a lot of people are going to like.

But that's only the beginning. Here's the inside story

You know all those irritating little noises your car makes when you drive down the highway? Like windwhistle. Tire noise. Traffic sounds.

Well, we've built a car to quiet those noises. This transparent car has colored areas showing where we placed sound silencers in the new Sebring-Plus. We've added special door and window seals, for example.

And things like floor silencers and roof pads to keep the street noises outside the car.

It all means that the Sebring-Plus will be a quieter

car than ever before, "Super-Quiet" we call it.

If Satellite sounds like your kind of car, stop at your Chrysler-Plymouth dealer's. Take a good look at our new Satellite.

Drive it, listen to the quiet, experience the new ride and the way it handles. Then decide. We don't think there's a better choice in a mid-size car.

Mid-size Plymouth Satellite CHRISTER

Extra care in engineering . . . it makes a difference.



their jobs voluntarily: 649.000 were seeking work for the first time; and 1,452,000 had decided to return to work after having voluntarily separated from work some time ago. In fact, 2.1 million, less than half of the 4.8 million unemployed, had actually

lost their jobs. That number is still too high, but it does suggest that a narrow approach to the

> JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs The White House

Come Home

Sir / Hooray for "The State of Union" [Oct. 91! Since World War II. America's liberal Protestant seminaries have been ignorparish churches and their pastoral needs. Conservative evangelical seminaries that Union. Yale. Chicago, Harvard. et al.. refuse to supply Money for these institu-tions is therefore predictably drying up. And the teachers "barrage of debunking and skepticism," aimed at students who already are startled when someone inquires. Don't we begin with a prayer? ing the ruination of liberal Protestantism

tian tragedy. Come home Union, Yale, Chi-cago, Harvard, Come home!

(THE REV.) JAMES N. MCCUTCHEON First Congregational Church Kalamazoo, Mich.

Sir / A few years ago, in a society bulging with injustice and suffering. Union Theological Seminary was wearing a \$300 suit

excellence, a liberal perspective and a critical (though serious) approach to the biblical message and Christian life. Although the seminary no longer wears the same truth-seeking spirit today. Bless Union for its willingness to face the risks that the Christian faith demands in an age and na-

A Little Vinegar

Sir / Time Essavist Stefan Kanfer writes goes on those dubious wieners, adding its adulterates to theirs Prepared mustard made in the U.S. is by regulatory mandate out sugar and/or dextrose, spices or other

It contains no additives, chemicals or

The R.T. French Co.

Schooled

Sir / Your article "Illinois Innovator" [Oct. 9] about Michael J. Bakalis, superinhe happens to be my son. However, may I correct one error. Yes, I came here from Greece many years ago, but I am not un-schooled as your article stated. I was educated in Greece and also attended Chicago

Padded Bra

Sir / Putting a Rolls-Royce hood on a VW

Lewiston. Me

Bumper Stickers

Sir / Speaking of bumper stickers [Oct. 9]. how about "Being President means never having to say you're sorry

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

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Now in Menthol, too. Carlton

3 mg."tar."

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking is Dangerous to Your Health.

Filter 3 mg "tar", 0.3 mg nicoone, Menthol 4 mg "tar", 0.3 mg nicoone. av per cigarette, FTC Report Aug. 72

THE NATION

AMERICAN NOTES

Nixon's Complaint

For a moment has week Richard.
For a moment has week Richard.
For a distinct one of the old he had been clearly a factor and the distinct of t

As he sometimes does, the President state a note combining traculence and self-pity. His critics have failed, Nixon went on, "to understand the importance of great decisions and the necessity to stand by the President of the United States when he makes a terribly difficult, potentially unpopular decision."

Those crities might reply that the President's curren policies are demonstrably not all that unpopular. The more difficult—and therefore usually the difficult—and therefore usually the clearly it is, the duty of "opinion lead" to reason the control of the contr

Consciousness Raising at 104

Chalk up a score for Women's Lib in Grove City. Ohio. Mrs. Mary Walter, who has never voted in her 104 years, has decided to break down and cast a ballot in the upcoming election. As she explains: "I never voted before because I didn't think it was right for women to vote. They had enough to do at home. I guess that was the old style."

Some of Mary's more liberated sisters may not agree with her choice, however: she plans to vote for Richard Nixon because, she says, "I got a lovely card from him on my birthday." Right on, Mary.

Sexist Politics

The Republicans are leaving nothing to chance, including candidates wives. A manual put out by the National Republican Congressional Committee markets are congressional Committee markets on pin about every mentionable occasion. Dress, for example: "Not too short. Be certain hemitine is straight. No missing buttons." Perfume "Not iso much—light cologine better." Manners: "When yout husband os speaking power of the perfume the properties of the perfume the properties of the perfume the properties." It was not the perfume the properties of the perfume the

More in tune with the times, if no less officious, the Democratis have put out a sheet for both wives and husbands, since two dozen Democratic women are running for Congress. A thoughtful husband, the manual advises, should squelch any rumors that his wife is running for office because their marriage is on the skids. "It's your job to let the

voters know that she can do it—and that you want her to do it, that you're with her all the way." Meanwhile, keep the home fires burning as hest you can. "You can't become a homemaker. But you can serve I'V dimers in a pinch, you can serve I'V dimers in a pinch up. Take her out to dinner when she's tired, and be understanding about inevitable changes that affect the household routine."

Good Old Dirty Tricks?

Some Republicans last week scemed determined to equate the Watergate affair with a tradition of political dirty tricks almost as old as the ballot box itself. Indeed, some nasty pranks have become depressingly commonplace over the years—the stealing of candidates' stationery to issue scurrilous letters or phony press releases, the use of embarrassing out-of-context photos;

Some of it is even funny. One saboteur recently turned loose a box of live cockroaches in Republican headquarters at Manhattan's Roosevelt Hotel. Lyndon Johnson aides reportedly poured itching powder down the backs of demonstrators carrying anti-L.B.J. signs at his rallies-forcing them to drop their boards and scratch. Democrat Leo Marshall, seeking a seat on Pennsylvania's New Castle County Council in 1966, was the victim of someone who sent a flatbed truck carrying a black band and black semi-nude go-go girls into a conservative white ethnic neighborhood, noisily urging his election. He lost.

He loss. most edebrated political promiser in Dick Tuck a longtime colfornia been observed to the color of the color of

But that kind of one-man activity is hardly in the Watergate's league. It is not the same as hirting former ets agents to break into a party headquarters and install cavesdropping equipment. Mor is it the same as massing a huge fund to finance political spyring and disruption. Somewhere in the whole furtive, earnest enterprise, the fun of political prankstering disappeared. Bring







WHITE HOUSE FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER HENRY KISSINGER

THE WAR / COVER STORY

At Last, the Shape of a Settlement

THE weary, bitter years of war in Viet cabulary of hope. So many corners turned, so many lights glimpsed at the end of tunnels, so many ritualistic negotiating sessions at the old Majestic Hotel in Paris, so many dead. Even the once secret sessions begun by Richard Nixon soon after he took office seemed to be inexorably changing from ventures of high drama and promise to mere suspense entertainment. But last week Henry Kissinger, the President's plenipotentiary for peace, was in Saigon on perhaps the most difficult and critical mission of his extraordinary career in diplomacy. He had in his briefcase an agreement in principle with North Viet Nam for the shape of a settlement, and his was the unenviable task of selling that settlement to South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu. whose political demise will be an inevitable consequence of the package However Thieu might balk. Viet Nam seemed closer to the brink of peace than it has been in a decade

The proposed settlement may have to be altered in some details during the negotiations with Thieu. But from South Vietnamese sources TIMI obtained an outline of the Hanoi-Washington bargain that Kissinger brought from Paris. In essence it provides for an internationally supervised cease-fire. the formation of a new South Vietnamese government and elections for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution for South Viet Nam To separate military from political matters it proposes three separate committees or bodies to implement a settlement, a process that might take many months to accomplish. What the White House wants, say the Saigon sources, is to be able to announce an agreement "in principle" on the package before Election Day, though the first step of a ceasefire might not even be possible that soon. What the plan outlines on the military

and political froms.

HOME HE WAR. A cease-fire freeing all forces in South Viet Nam 'inplace' and halting all military activity
—including the U.S. bombing of North

North American Home of the initially.

Then negotiations would begin on the

find withdrawad of all U.S. forces and

the return of the American prisoners

of war Possibly the talks would even
tually extend to the related wars in

Cambodia and Laos.

BUILDING A POLITICAL PEACE. Once the cease-fire was in effect direct negotiations would begin between the present Saigon government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (P.R.G.) maintained by the National Liberation Front in South Viet Nam. The two sides would work out the composition of a "caretaker government" that would succeed the Thieu regime and prepare the country for general elections to choose a constituent assembly. The assembly would draft a new constitution. a new round of elections would be held. and a new and presumably broad-based government that included Communists would take its place in Saigon

The plan proposes the following three bodies to carry out these efforts:

An expanded International Control Commission to supervise the cease-fire. The present LCC. consisting of Canada, Poland and India, is a forforn remnant that has been charged since 1954 with enforcing the Geneva Accords in Indochina. Other nations and considerable manpower would

have to be added to the L.C.C. to enable it to monitor the cease-fire with any effectiveness.

2) A committee composed of Saigon government and P.R.G. representatives to take on the formidable task of organizing a caretaker government. In this government, the main political factions in South Viet Nam-Communist, neutralist and the Thieu government-would be represented, but not necessarily equally. Which groups would have how large a share in the caretaker government-and therefore to some extent in the elections and constitution that ensue from it-would be subject to negotiations between the representatives of the Saigon government and the P.R.G. on the committee. This provision meets Nixon's demands that he not have to participate in Thieu's downfall--because Thieu could stay in office until the committee set up the caretaker government-and that the South Vietnamese be responsible for working out their own political future.

3) A committee composed of all four paries to the war the U.S. Hanor, the Thieu government and the I.R.G. This group would work with the I.C.C. arbitrating who controlled what territory at the time of the cease-fire, negotiating the U.S. withdrawal and the release of the P.O.Ws. and the other large, overall problems of ending combatin Viet Name.

The complex package had been worked out by Kissinger and Hanois Le Due Tho in Paris apparently without Thieu's approval, and Kissinger's arrival in Saigon with the agreement spurred Thieu into a frenzy of defensive activity. Emerging from his near imperial isolation, he began reaching out for public support. He turned up at

THE NATION

a Saigon youth rally to rail against "henchmen of the Communists He gave dinners for a variety of officials and legislators, some of them opposition figures he normally scorns-or jails. He ordered hanners placed in Saigon bearing his contention that the Vietnamese people oppose a tripartite government.

The North Vietnamese were active too One day last week North Vietnamese envoys in Prague, Warsaw, Bucharest. Belgrade. Budapest and East Berlin simultaneously requested audiences with the party leaders of the Eastern European Communist nations, all of whom had been pressing Hanoi to make a settlement Presumably the East Europeans were pleased with the briefings, for the North Vietnamese diplomats drove back to their embassies with renewed promises of bloc support.

There were other straws in the Indochinese winds too. The government of Laos began peace talks with the Communist Pathet Lao, and the Cambodian government suddenly requested that journalists refrain from using the word

the U.S. delegation in Paris. General Creighton Abrams, the former U.S. commander in South Viet Nam, left Washington for Saigon on White House orders only hours after he had been installed as the new Army Chief of Staff at a Pentagon ceremony. His mission. said the Pentagon lamely, was to check up on Vietnamization. Also on hand were U.S. Commander Frederick Wevand and Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker.

Some of the men on the American team, notably Abrams, were present because Thieu particularly trusts them. and a great deal of trust and more seems likely to be required before the South Vietnamese President will buy the proposals. In sum they directly violate or potentially compromise his oft-reiterated "four nos": no coalition, no granting of territory to the Communists, no Communist activity in South Viet Nam and no neutralism. They also undercut his insistence that any government change in Saigon take place under the present constitution, whose Article Four outlaws Communist activity of

broke down the vast problems of establishing a post-Napoleonic European peace into their practical component parts and set up committees to resolve the smaller issues. The Kissinger plan appears to be an extraordinarily clever arrangement. It deals subtly but directly with the overriding issue of the war-the control of Saigon-while deftly sidestepping the ideological "issues" that have muddled

ternich, whom Kissinger analyzed in his

Harvard doctoral thesis. At the Con-

gress of Vienna in 1815. Metternich

understanding of the war (especially in the U.S.) from the beginning. It also, like any worthy work of diplomacy. contains substantial concessions by both Hanoi and Washington

Treasure. The U.S. has apparently agreed in principle to the dismantling of what the Nixon Administration has maintained with blood and treasure as South Viet Nam's constitutional government and to back the writing of a new constitution with Communist participation. In the process, Thieu, whom Nixon promised never to abandon. would be forced to negotiate against great odds just to retain his position in the interim and must certainly lose it in the long run. Through the cease-fire "in place," the package would "reward aggression," as Nixon once put it, by ceding the Communists territory obtained by military means, which would be used by them to guarantee a place for themselves in any new government Finally, the Administration has yielded the point that any new elections must be presidential ones, which would have worked to Thieu's advantage and the disadvantage of the Viet Cong, who control much land but few people The U.S. could argue, however, that this is superseded by its position that the future government of South Viet Nam should be determined by concession and not by imposition. The proposed elections for a constituent assembly under a caretaker government might favor the Viet Cong by giving them a better chance to display the broad support they claim to have.

For its part, Hanoi has agreed to negotiate directly with the Thieu government while the South Vietnamese President is still in power, which it had said that it would never do. In fact, the Communists even seem willing to let Thieu remain in office until the caretaker government is formed, again a retreat. And they have agreed to forgo a strictly tripartite government with precisely onethird representation guaranteed them

But it seems certain that, should Thieu still be around at that point, the constituent assembly would in effect simply write him out of power. I'hus the plan would allow the Administration both to preserve a role for Thieu for a time and-after a decent interval -have him set aside and satisfy the future political realities of Viet Nam

Whether that would be perceived by the U.S. public as an abandonment of





KISSINGER ARRIVING & BEING GREETED BY SOUTH VIETNAMESE OFFICIALS IN SAIGON In his briefcase, a plan to end the fighting.

Communist in print, explaining that it would prefer them to use the more neutral terms North Vietnamese and Viet Cong

But the main event was in Saigon. where each day Kissinger and Thieu sat down flanked by aides and officials. Sometimes Thieu was backed up by key advisers and members of his cabinet. Kissinger on his side of the table had an unprecedented array of Americans experienced in Victnamese matters. William H. Sullivan, former Ambassador to Laos and now a top State Department man on East Asian and Pacific affairs, had flown in with Kissinger From Seoul came Philip C. Habib, the U.S. Ambassador to South Korea, a hardnosed negotiator who had served

both in the Saigon embassy and with

any kind. Beyond all that, of course, they eventually doom his own leadership Even the prospect of peace undercuts his position, which is almost entirely now supported by the army (see box. page 15).

Kissinger should be well equipped to press the U.S. case, since the plan bears his unmistakable craftsmanship. The provision for a caretaker government was foreshadowed in a 1969 essay in I oreign Affairs in which Kissinger argued that "a mixed commission to develop and supervise a political process to reintegrate the country-including free elections-could be useful." Students of the President's foreign policy adviser will also recognize in the agreement a bow to the brilliant 19th century Austrian Statesman Klemens Metan oft-repeated Administration commitment is unclear. Doubtless, the White House is aware that with its profusion of committees and procedural steps-not to mention the possibility that negotiations between Saigon and the P.R.G. on the caretaker government could slog on for years-the plan would make it tough for anyone to judge with any certainty whether or not Nixon had made good on his pledge not to "join our enemy to overthrow our ally.

In the narrow sense at least he would have kept that vow. Whatever happened to Thieu and to the makeup of the Saigon government-the complexities of Vietnamese life after so many years of war are such that few foresee any sudden Communist "takeover"-the Administration could argue that it had "imposed" nothing on the country, that it was all "up to the Vietnamese themselves.

What, in fact, are the chances for a cease-fire? As Kissinger flew into Saigon last week. State Department officials were quoting 80-20 odds against an announcement before the U.S. election. Kissinger has told friends with apparent sincerity that Nixon has never pressured him to speed up or slow down the pace of negotiations because of the election. In conversations, he has suggested that he personally expects events to unfold gradually.

Nonetheless, both sides were clear-

ly making preparations. During the crucial talks between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho in Paris two weeks ago, the White House began bombarding State and the Pentagon with urgent questions on the feasibility of policing an in-place ceasefire involving 200,000 North Vietnamese troops in South Viet Nam. According to U.S. intelligence in Saigon.

The Tough Man in the Tight Squeeze

NGUYEN VAN THIFT is an easy man to underrate, and both the U.S. and his South Vietnamese opponents have made that mistake. Bland in appearance, cautious by nature, reserved in public, he is not exactly the model of the charismatic leader of a small country pitted in a life-and-death struggle against an implacable foe. Yet Thieu has demonstrated a knack for survival that has confounded his doubters. Not since Ngo Dinh Diem has a national leader been able to stay in power for so long in South Viet Nam, much less run a viable government. But Thieu has been able to do both

He approaches his task with a mixture of cunning and circumspection. Until it looked as if the 1963 plot to overthrow Diem would succeed, he did not take sides. By skillful maneuvering he managed to elbow aside the more flamboyant Nguyen Cao Ky and stand for President in 1967. Once thought to be the stronger of the pair. Ky never recovered from the humiliation. Last year Thieu arranged to run for re-election without any opposition whatsoever.

The prop of his power is the military, pure and simple. By an adroit system of promoting and demoting, of granting favors and withholding them, Thieu has built up an apparatus that is loval to him. In the process, he has not made the best appointments from a strictly military point of view. His generals have been slow to take the offensive and not very imaginative in battle He has had to fire two out of four Military Region commanders, and a division commander has been charged with treason. Beyond that, the army and much of the rest of the government has been riddled with debilitating corruption. Thieu himself remains untainted but his customary caution has kept him from acting decisively

In one area, he did, though He foresaw almost two years ago the moment that finally arrived last week, and he systematically and shrewdly prepared for it by adding to his powers. More recently, he has moved even more vigorously. After the North invaded last spring, he went before the National Assembly to ask for virtually dictatorial powers for six months. The Assembly initially balked, but eventually Thieu got his way. As dictators go, he has proved to be relatively mild, though he

is known as "isolation palace," and he seems to be content to stay there. He leads a quiet home life with his Roman Catholic wife; though Thieu was brought up a Confucian Buddhist, he converted to Catholicism a few years after his marriage. He is the son of a farmer and fisherman. To judge by his public utterances.

he remains an unyielding anti-Commu-



THIEU WITH CABINET MINISTERS IN HIS DOWNTOWN SAIGON PALACE

has shut down all but a few of the vociferous opposition newspapers and thrown thousands of his political opponents into jail, many without benefit of trial. In August he also put an end to local elections; from then on, officials of hamlets and villages would be appointed with Saigon's approval

The reason for the clampdown is that Thieu needs all the power he can muster in order to deal, on the one hand. with the Communists and on the other. with the U.S. His power-a chief complaint against him-does not lie with the people at large. He rarely ventures out to give a public speech or shake a hand, though he has made many recent visits to the battlefield. He remains a very private person for a public figure. His life is pretty much confined to what

nist. He recently remarked: "We have to kill the Communists to the last man before we have peace." Whether he believes that or not, he acts as if he does. He is extremely conscious of his survival." says an American who has observed him close at hand. "Yet he has a flexible mind. The nattern of his behavior is to be ahead of us on most issues involved in the negotiations.

Yet Thieu knows as well as anybody that his survival rests ultimately with the U.S. Like Diem before him, he could he removed if the U.S. so decreed. Since the Kissinger plan does, indeed, ultimately and inherently decree that, the real question is the manner of his going -with dignity or defiance, restraint or rebellion. The man of caution is being tested as never before.

THE NATION

Communist units have already received orders to extend their control of South Vietnamese territory wherever possible in anticipation of a cease-fire. At least three North Vietnamese divisions have slipped into positions in the jungles just north of Saigon, which have recently been pounded by heavy B-52 raids. Only last week Communist troops on obvious "flag-planting" missions captured live hamlets in the Pleiku region. Saigon's troops are in control of all of the country's 44 provincial capitals and roughly 90% of South Viet Nam's 17 million people. But they have not been able to dislodge Communist forces from much of the territory they seized in the Easter offensive All told, the Communists dominate South Viet Nam's sparsely populated eight northern provinces, including the Central Highlands and several districts in the populous, once secure Mekong Delta south of

Saigon Long Way. With the fighting war once again at a standoff, however temporary it may be, conditions seem possible for the agreement that has so long eluded Richard Nixon and his foreign policy adviser. It may always be a matter of debate whether the Nixon Administration "missed a chance" following the bombing halt of 1968 to settle the war on terms not very different from those that it appears to be negotiating now There will always be those Americans who will defend his holding out for an "honorable" settlement and those who contend that the Administration's "dual-track" strategy of Vietnamization and negotiations was the long way out

of Viet Nam.

Kissinger argues fairly persuasively that at least part of the blame for the drawn-out negotiations must be laid to the style and temperament of the U.S.'s

tion adviser in the 1960s, Kissinger was a keen student of the Vietnamese negotiating style. In his remarkably prescient Foreign Affairs article. Kissinger noted "the peculiar negotiating style of Hanoi, the careful planning, the subtle, indirect methods, the preference for opaque communications which keep open as many options as possible North Vietnamese diplomacy, he observed, operated in somewhat baffling "cycles of reconnaissance and with drawal." Even if the U.S. accepted all of Hanoi's demands. Kissinger wrote. "the result might well be months of haggling while Hanoi looked for our 'angle' and made sure that no other concessions were likely to be forthcoming.

Kissinger is known to believe that the long deadlock was caused, too, by the US style of negotiations before he took over. There was, he has said, too much concern with tactics and not enough "feeling for nuance and for intangibles." Kissinger's own style has been to set aside the detailed questions as much as he can and try to create "a process of evolution that will give the North Vietnamese an option on the future." At the bargaining table, Kissinger has tried to channel the talks to the purely military questions of cease-fire and troop withdrawals, avoiding the emotional issue of the internal structure of South Viet Nam for as long as possible.

If Kissinger's new style impressed the North Vistnamese, however, they did not show it. Since August 1969, when Kissinger slipped dif to Paris for the first of the 19 secret sessions he had with Le Due Tho, the talks until recently had essentially been at an impasse To be sure; there were occasional in-the proposals always looked to the Communists like a strategem to stop the

fighting while retaining Thieu in power and the Communis multipoint proposals always contained a political so-tution that would topple Thieu. As Kissinger complained last January, when Nixon publicly revealed the existence of the secret talks and their impasse, the North Vietnamese were asking that the U.S. "overthrow the people that have been counting on us.

Rattled. Why have the North Vietnamese decided to negotiate now? It is possible that Hanoi merely finds it advantageous to be seen dealing unilaterally with the U.S. on the theory that it is a cheap way to generate uncertainty in Saigon and thus weaken Thieu's hold on South Viet Nam. But without claborating, Kissinger had been saying privately all summer that he expected serious bargaining to begin this fall. One element surely is the fact that Hanoi has been under at least some pressure to settle from Moscow and Peking, who are anxious to expand their new relationships with the U.S. Though it rattled Saigon for a while and gave Washington a scare, the Easter offensive not only ended in a standoff but also gave the Administration the excuse and public support to resume full-scale bombing of North Viet Nam and mine the harbors. I'hough foreigners who have visited Hanoi would argue to the contrary, the Administration seems convinced that the overwhelming U.S. air war-which has been dumping explosives on the North at the rate of two tons every minute-has begun to weak-

Clearly, the U.S. election has played a powerful role-on both sides During his two-day session with Le Duc Tho in Paris last August, Kissinger pressed the argument that Hanoi would do well to settle along the lines of Nixon's May 8 plan. That called for a cease-fire inplace throughout Indochina, and a withdrawal of U.S. troops within four months after release of American P.O.W.s. leaving the political issues to he settled by the Victnamese themselves. If Nixon were to win a second term, Kissinger argued, the Administration offer could well harden. In September, by the reckoning of intelligence analysts in Washington, the polls began to convince the Hanoi Politburo that a victory by McGovern, who has proposed that the U.S should "break free of Thieu" with a unilateral withdrawal. was a poor gamble.

was allowed Bullmass pay attention to the tricky politics of peace According to Pollster Daniel Yankelovich. Viet Nam 5 "The key" to Nixon's commanding lead over McGovern But the U.S. public so carriction that Nixon is better able to carriction that Nixon is better able to a control that Nixon is better able matically if the Administration were to run into big trouble in Paris—or, more accurately, in Saigon. As the White thouse well knows an obstraperous ally in Saigon reloading to accept the Kis-man of the U.S. when the work of the Commandation of the U.S. when the work of the Commandation of the U.S. when the work of the Commandation of the U.S. when the work of the Commandation of the U.S. when the control of the U.S. when the U.S. when the control of the U.S. when the



adversaries. As a Johnson Administra-

electorate about the Administration's course in Vict Nam. More likely. though, given the U.S. desire to get out of the war, a rebellious Thieu seen as sabotaging peace might simply rally Americans to the President's side, enabling him to liquidate U.S. involvement without any fear of recrimination at home. Still for Nixon to abandon Saigon would be tantamount to declaring his Viet Nam policy to have been an utter failure.

But what would Thieu do? The silence of the U.S. embassy and the presidential palace only deepened the mystery. Saigonese pored over the abbreviated accounts of the talks that were in the tightly controlled press. Rumors flew of an impending coup, of an imminent shakeup of the South Vietnamese army. A report that the government had placed a rush order for 2,500,000 vards of bunting with a Saigon cloth merchant sparked speculation that the rumored cease-fire might really be at

Even in cynical Saigon, Vietnamese reacted strongly-and somewhat surprisingly-to the image of Thieu at bay Nguven Van Huven, the president of the South Vietnamese Senate and an occasional critic of Thieu, openly declared his hope that "he will remain in power to keep stability." Huyen added: "I don't say the U.S. is deserting us, but something very disquieting is happening." TIME Bureau Chief Stanley Cloud cabled: "For the first time in his political career. Thieu has become a truly sympathetic character. Even his opponents have expressed support for him as he apparently attempts to resist American pressures and plug the holes in the badly leaking boat of his presidency. The Vietnamese have a highly developed sense of pride, and if it seems to them that the Americans are attempting at this late date to abandon them, they could easily unite as never before behind an anti-Americanism far more virulent than any anti-Communism

they ever felt. Levers. No one in Washington or Saigon doubted that the Administration would find it difficult to bulldoze the tough and resourceful general whom Richard Nixon once called "one of the four or five greatest politicians in the world." Yet in his duel with the Administration. Thieu had few real options. Thieu was considering a strategem under which he would simply ignore Paris and unilaterally propose to resign and turn power over to a six-man "gov ernment committee" that would hold months. Thieu would claim to have met the Communist demand for his resignation-and then run for re-election The catch is that if Thieu were to let go of the levers of power, even for a short time, he might not be able to find them again. But if he were to keep them, the Communists would have no chance in the elections and the struggle would resume.

WELCOME HOME SOLDIER







SOUTH VIETNAMESE MARINE After so many years, it was all up to the Vietnamese themselves.

More simply. Thieu could threaten to embarrass Nixon by loudly rejecting the Kissinger plan and vowing to carry on the light against the Communists alone. The Administration might find it difficult politically to cut off U.S. aid to Saigon under those circumstances. But it could effectively counter by threatening to negotiate a bilateral, separate peace with Hanoi-a possibility that worries many South Vietnamese.

At week's end, the great Saigon tug of war spilled into a fourth day with no announced end to the maneuvering, while Kissinger flew off, apparently to Cambodia, for additional parleys. The word was out that Thieu had reluctantly agreed on at least one part of the plan: the cease-fire. But he was also said to be digging in against other key provisions of the Kissinger agreement that the Communists certainly regard as vital. Thieu was reportedly unhappy about the caretaker-government provision and adamantly opposed to any basic change in the present constitution that might open the way to the entry of a significant number of Communists into the country's political life. As a counteroffer, he proposed to recognize certain areas of the country as "under Communist control" and to allow them representation in the existing National Assembly on the basis of population. The Communists are almost certain to halk at that, for they would be hard out to demonstrate military control over more than 10% of the population

Even if the Kissinger proposal eventually emerges in some form as the outline of a settlement, many problems would remain. A cease-fire alone would be devilishly difficult to manage even in a land that had not been at war for a quarter-century. The fact that several weeks would pass between the time a cease-fire was announced and the time

the machinery to implement it could be smoothly functioning would mean that what is mildly known as "regroupment" could be a serious problem. Communist forces located in isolated "oil spots" would try to expand and link up with Communists in other areas, and Saigon's troops would try to blot them out altogether

Scent. Seemingly there would be no end to the details that would have to be worked out if the shooting were to be stopped. South Viet Nam's joint general staff was unhappily puzzling last week over one of the smaller ones; an American plan for the demobilization -following a cease-fire-of half of the country's armed forces, including seven of its eleven infantry divisions. Other problems will prove more complex. among them the dismantling of the assassination squads maintained by the Viet Cong and by the Saigon government under its Phoenix program.

If the Kissinger approach has any validity at all, however, the lesser issues should fall into place once the big problems are settled. Those big problems of peace in Indochina have not been resolved-at least not yet-by any means. but Kissinger's idea is catching on quickly. As Cloud reported from Saigon last week. "the tantalizing scent of peace is in the air for the first time in years. To the South Vietnamese the political questions are secondary-at least for the moment-to the almost unbearable temptation to hope for the best. Such hopes do not come easily to the Vietnamese after 26 years of war. Once they are fully entertained, they could become overwhelming political reality Those hopes could be dashed again-in Saigon, Washington or Hanoi -as they have been in the past. But this time it would be a disappointment of tragic proportions.

INVESTIGATIONS

Denials and Still More Questions

THE issue of political espionage in the 1972 presidential campaign has persisted-a tangled, melodramatic business. occurring like a backstage fistfight. somewhere still in the margins of the voters' consciousness. The matter remained a volatile presence, however, and last week the din of charges and countercharges grew louder as Republicans and Democrats exchanged bitter words over the implications of the Watergate investigation. Without challenging a single point of reported fact, the President's men denied any wrongdoing and attacked the press for printing the stories. Even so, there were new revelations of White House connections with a fat slush fund used to finance political spying

Tisse. Tass learned that still another figure who held an important White House position before moving to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President played a key role in the Watergale case. He is Jeb Stuart Magrader, now one of the Nixon committee departy directors. Before he joined departy directors. Before he joined first an assistant to HR. Haldeman, the President's chief of staff, and later to

Herb Klein, Nixon's Director of Communications—giving Magruder about two years on the White House staff. It was known earlier that the cash used to finance the wiretapping at the Deno cratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate last June came partners flies now show that Magruder was the C.R.P. official who authorized the expenditures.

According to Justice Department attorneys. Magruder gave his approval for the use of up to \$250,000 to be spent on what the attorneys called "political intelligence operations," It is not known whether that entire amount was spent. but at least \$50,000 was withdrawn for this purpose out of a secret fund of pos-sibly \$700,000 in cash kept in the office of Maurice Stans, former Secretary of Commerce and now finance chairman of the Nixon committee. Justice Department officials told TIME that Magruder hired another former White House aide, G. Gordon Liddy, to head the political intelligence squad for the committee. Liddy, who has been indicted in the Watergate case, was authorized by Magruder to spend the \$250,000. The actual payments were made to Liddy by the committee's treasurer at the time. Hugh Sloan, a Note took the cash from Stans' safe. Sloan, a Republican fund raiser beginning in 1966, was a staff assistant to the President before joining C.R.P.

The only record of these disbursements from the secret fund was kept by Sloan on a single sheet of lined yellow paper. It was destroyed by a top C.R.P. official. Other relevant papers. Justice of Department officials said were destroyed by Liddy within hours after the predawn arrests at the Watergate. He seems the used a paper shredder in the C.R.P. oflies, for about 30 minutes that morning.

Magruder, a Santa Monica, Calif., business executive who coordinated Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign in the Los Angeles area, told the Justice Department that he thought the intelligence money was to be used to get information about radicals and antiwar protesters who might try to disrupt the Republican National Convention, He denied authorizing any funds for illegal purposes. A certain conspiratorial mood among the White House staff is illustrated by one of Magruder's former assignments there. He moved from Haldeman's staff to Klein's, TIME has learned, to watch Klein for Haldeman, who has a habit of keeping a sharp eye on the activities of staff members

Scattered. Some of the men who were in various positions on the committee when the Watergate case broke on June 17 have since scattered (see chart). Liddy was fired from the committee on June 28 when he refused to answer IBI questions. Sloan left the committee shortly after the Watergate break-in. John Mitchell, the former Attorney General, was head of the Nixon committee at the time but quit on July 1, ostensibly because his wife Martha wanted to get him out of politics. So far unexplained is the mystery surrounding Martha Mitchell's claim that only five days after the Watergate arrests, Steve King, now head of security for the Nixon committee, ripped a telephone off the wall of a Newport Beach. Calif., motel room where she and her husband were staying, threw her on a hed and held her while a doctor gave her an injection. She was cut badly enough on the hand in this fracas, the Washington Post reported last week, to require hospital emergency room treatment. The man who took her there, said the Post, was Nixon's personal attorney. Herbert Kalmbach

Still very much in place in his winStill very much in place in his winpin, deputy assistant to the President
win of the Still very many and the still very
control Straction had hired Donald H.
Segretti in cercuit agents to help "distupi" the primary campaigns of Dencartie presidential candidates. Tistst
reported earlier (Oct. 23) that Segretti
had received from Herbert Kallmbach
more than \$35,000 for his services.
Kallmbach in turn got the money from



THE NATION

the secret fund in Stans' safe. This information was based on statements made by both Segretti and Kalmbach to FBI agents.

Later, last week, the New York Times reported that a telephone in Segretti's home was used to make 28 calls to Chapin's home, the White House or the office of the indicted Hunt. The Washington Post reported that only five people had authority to approve payments from the Stans fund: Stans. Kalmbach, Magruder, Mitchell and an unidentified "high White House official." The Post also claimed that White House aides had coached Segretti on what to say to the Watergate grand jury and that when he appeared before the jury, the U.S. attorneys who were prosecuting the case did not even ask whom he worked for. A woman juror did, however, and Segretti named Chapin.

Innuendo. It is still not clear what Segretti's specific duties were, or just how unusual his campaign against Democratic candidates was; but the words "disruption" and "harass" were used by Segretti in talking to the Justice Department The Nixon committee responded to the disclosures with a denial that anyone "in authority" had "authorized or approved or had any prior knowledge of the break-in at the Watereate or any other illegal activities. At the White House, Speechwriter Pat Buchanan claimed that the news stories were politically motivated. "We're not gonna play that game," he said Presidential Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler denied that anyone at the White House had "directed acts of sabotage spying or espionage" against the Democrats and charged that the stories were based on "hearsay, character assassination, innuendo and guilt by association. Clark MacGregor, Nixon's campaign director, angrily denounced the Post in particular for using "huge scare headlines" and acting "maliciously" and with "hypocrisy" to link the White House to such political espionage. Uncharacteristically, the usually candid MacGregor did not allow newsmen to question him. Senator Robert Dole, the Republican National Chairman, accused McGovern and the Post of being "in a partnership in mudslinging

Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray was also incensed at the press, apparently because of reports that his agency had moved slowly and narrowly on the political sabotage investigations. "The press wants to hear that I'm a po-litical son of a bitch," he protested to TIME Correspondent Sandy Smith. "I'm getting pissed off at the rumors circulating in the incestuous circle around here [Washington]. They're trying to get to the President through me. They're trying to attack the FBI

In taking the offensive, MacGregor also charged that publications had a "double standard" in not pursuing acts of political sabotage against the Republicans. He claimed that McGovern workers have planted spies within the



denial of individual accountability for individual action."

Nixon campaign and had even done so within Hubert Humphrey's staffs during the Democratic primary campaigns. He cited what he called examples of "proven facts of oppositionincited disruptions of the President's campaign." They included the discovery of a Molotoy cocktail at one Nixon headquarters, fire damage at two others and window breaking at Nixon storefront campaign offices in three cities. The Post checked out each incident, found widespread violence against Nixon campaign offices in the nation but no evidence that McGovern's committees were involved in them. On the other hand, when various Democratic candidates reported acts of sabotage. there was often no evidence that these deeds had any connection with

The charges against the Nixon committee-the substance of which has not vet been specifically denied-are serious, even though the activity looks

NIXON COMMITTEE'S MAGRUDER No denials of fact.

inane and unnecessary. The kindest explanation is that Nixon is surrounded by overzealous aides who feel that they are expected to do everything possible to assure his decisive re-election. With this mentality, anything that seems to help or protect the President appears proper to them, even though in this case it can only damage Nixon.

Up to Ears. As the controversy grew, George McGovern pounded away at the issue on nearly every stop. employing often shrill and exaggerated oratory. At a labor rally in Essington. Pa., he charged that Nixon is "the kind of man who will not hesitate to try to wiretap your union hall or your university or your church or your home." He told airport crowds in Toledo that the Republicans had wiretapped the telephones of the Democratic presidential candidates in the primaries "and they had us followed and members of our families followed all the time Nixon is up to his ears in political sabotage. He has got to take responsibility for it

That was, of course, making a long leap-from acts of still rather vague political dirty work by political underlings to placing direct responsibility on Nixon. Yet McGovern did have a point in contending in Detroit that the Watergate and the secret G.O.P spying fund were much more serious matters than more celebrated scandals like the disclosures that Harry Vaughan, an inside operator in the Truman Administration. had accepted a Deepfreeze from a lobbyist and that President Eisenhower's closest aide. Sherman Adams, had received a vicuña coat and a rug. Asked why there was no uproar now over the Republican activities. McGovern replied: "Life is a struggle between our better impulses and more selfish, baser instincts. No one ever knows how that struggle will resolve itself. We can only hope that the American people do care." Trying to get them to care. Mc-Govern has scheduled a national television broadcast this week on "Morality and Decency in Government."

God May Be a Democrat: But the Vote Is for Nixon

RARE is the wedding, funeral, confir-mation, ordination, commencement or polka party that is not attended by Cleveland's Republican Mayor Ralph Perk, a third-generation Czech. He presides over a city of some 65 different nationalities, and he is deferential, in turn. to every one. His finance director is a second-generation Slovak, his utilities director a naturalized Lithuanian. The city properties director is of Polish stock, and the head of human resources happens to have a family tree rooted firmly in the Ukraine. At a recent Serbian picnic. Perk appealed to the picknickers' keen sense of loyalty. adopted me as a son of the Serbs," he told them, "and when you took me in you adopted my whole family. Some of my sons are running for office. Please don't forget them. They're good people.

Switch. Perk is teaching a generation of office seekers how to play ethnic politics. It was supposed to be an old-fashioned game snubbed by practitioners of the New Politics. But this election year it is more in style-and more necessary for candidates-than ever The ethnics hitherto relatively quiet and complacent and predictably Democratic, are now organizing and rebelling and preparing to vote for Nixon in massive numbers. The switch in the ethnic vote is among the most striking phenomena of the campaign and is, of course, an important element in labor's defection from the Democrats, since much of the trade union movement is still the preserve of ethnic workers

Though the definition of ethnics

from Eastern Europe and Italy (the Irish have been assimilated enough so that most other ethnics would tend to exclude them from the classification). The symptom of today's ethnicity is a display of pride and belligerence along with a sense of grievance and loss: ethnics are just not as happy as they used to be. They came full of hope to their adopted land; without forfeiting their heritage or giving up all their life-styles. they wanted to assimilate, the sooner the better. Says Geno Baroni, director of the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs in Washington, D.C.: "We thought the way to become real Americans was to be more patriotic-be hetter Americans than anyone else. We flocked to American Legion oratorical contests and gave speeches on the flag and the Constitution. And we had to prove something. We had to march, [like] the Italians on Columbus Day. We never realized that the WASPs never marched. Every day was their day

Now the values of the ethnics are under assault, the institutions they cherish-church, family, labor union -under a cloud. They have watched helplessly as the more affluent whites have fled the cities and the poor blacks have taken their place. They feel squeezed between a group that is deserting them and making them bear the brunt of social change and a group that is threatening their schools, neighborhoods and jobs. The combined recession and inflation has hit them hard. Says Baroni: "The ethnic worries how he is going to get the money to send his car." The ethnics feel left out and looked down upon, confused and angry. In undergoing their own particular brand of consciousness raising, they are

rediscovering their roots.

Suddenly it has become respectable -in fact desirable-to display an ethnic background. It offers an escape from current insecurity and uncertainty, a return to something fixed and firm. It is also part of the contemporary retreat from the notion of the American melting pot. The phenomenon poses-as it does in the case of blacks. Chicanos and Jews-the question of whether the proliferation of a lot of self-absorbed selfcontained communities is any improvement over the concept of a common citizenry. Along with the release of pride and energy, the ethnic movement has given rise to a certain insularity and

Cores. No one has been more attentive to this trend than Richard Nixon. who has played on the ethnics' discontent. In speech after speech, he has extolled their place in U.S. society-most recently at the base of the Statue of Liherty, where he told ethnics, holding placards and flags to make original national identities known to TV audiences, that they built America with their spirit and enterprise. By championing the work ethic and denouncing welfare, by opposing abortion and supporting aid to parochial schools, the President has reaffirmed their values. In smaller ways, too, he has shown that he cares. On his way back from the Moscow summit, he stopped off in Warsaw-a gesture that endeared him to American Poles. At an Italian-American festival in Maryland in September, he declared: "Every time

think I have some Italian blood The Republican campaign for the ethnic vote never sleeps. At the Heritage Groups division in Washington. dedicated ethnics keep in contact with 32 nationalities round the country. A G.O.P. nationalities newsletter reports on all ethnic activities, applauds their accomplishments and notes the appost, however obscure. Regional offices are equipped with computer print-outs that list the name of every voter in a national group. The voter is called by a fellow ethnic who first tries the native tongue. If the voter responds, fine. If

not, the caller switches to English. The voter is asked if he favors Nixon. If he says no, he is not called again. If he says yes or maybe, he is the target of more attention. He is asked formation is then fed into a computer and a letter is sent to the voter explaining how Nixon stands on the issues Nothing so elaborate has

been undertaken by the Democrats. The ethnic division of the Democratic National Committee was even disbanded after the convention, then hastily put











LISH-AMERICANS

WOOING THE ETHNICS. Clockwise: Girls of Polish, German, Malian and Ultrainian descent with President and Mex. No. On the States of Elberth President of Mex. No. On the States of Elberth Hispanic Day parade in New York City; Pulaski Deparation in Buffalo, McGovern supporter in haavily Polish Hamtramck, Mich.; McGovern in haavily Polish Hamtramck, Mich.; McGovern in Columbus Day parade, New York City.











together again when it became apparent what the Republicans were doing. With a budget of only \$50,000, another ethnic operation at McGovern headquarters sends out periodic mailings and leaves the main canvassing job to the state coordinators. Nor is the candidate as sure-footed among ethnics as Nixon. McGovern blundered when he failed to control his supporters at the Columbus Day Parade in New York City Chanting "We want George!" they held up the festivities for 15 minutes. not realizing what the parade meant to its Italian-American participants.

Power. Sometimes McGovern has said too little to the ethnics, sometimes too much. After criticizing quotas as unfair to ethnics, he pledged that he would provide jobs for nationalities in reasonable proportion to their numbers in the population. "You've got to remember that never have we had a Polish American on the U.S. Supreme Court," he declared. "Never have we had an Italo-American on the Supreme Court. We've never had a Greek American." Last week at the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Dinner in Manhattan, McGovern pointed up his problem with ethnics to his largely Catholic audience: "I feel a little like Al Smith addressing the Baptist

league of Eastern Texas." His running mate Sargent Shriver is more at home with ethnics. They, in fact, constitute a significant part of his overall job in this campaign, which is to lure home the prodigal Democrats. Last week in a Catholic high school in Union County, N.J., he was greeted with cheers and whistles, though the student body prefers Nixon. Shriver's hyperbolic rhetoric goes over well in union halls: Nixon is a man obsessed with power What he cares about is money and military power, bucks and bombs," But it is an uphill battle. At the Polish-American Congress convention in Detroit this month, Shriver offered what he called a seven-point "Ethnic Magna Carta, but he received much less applause than Spiro Agnew, who simply reminded the audience how close the President felt to them. Agnew and Nixon received another kind of ethnic compliment in Chicago when Frank Sinatra once again emerged from retirement. Changing the lyrics of The Lady Is a Tramp, Sinatra crooned to a crowd of 4,900:

> They're both unique-the Quaker. They make this Italian want to

whistle and stamp.

Because each gentleman is a champ. Ethnics are leaving the Democrats

this election because they feel the party does not want them, and for a while that seemed to be the case. Those who seized command of the party in Miami Beach believed that McGovern could win with a combination of youth, minorities and aroused liberals and suburbanites. But the mathematics were faulty. If the Irish are not counted, there are only 14 million first- and secondgeneration ethnics in America. But the number swells to around 40 million if all the descendants of ethnics are included-and indeed, many of these continue to think of themselves as hyphenated Americans. They feel they are treated with condescension or disdain by people who happen to be better off than they are. Observes Tom Foran, prosecutor of the Chicago Seven: "They watched the Democratic Convention and saw all those people running it who never had a callus in their life.

The ethnics particularly resent their role with regard to blacks. Though the affluent liberals who lecture them have moved out to the safety of the suburbs, the ethnics are expected to accept integration of their schools and neighborhoods without a murmur. As a liberal Democrat who supports McGovern puts it: "We're kind of limousine liberals in a way, and Agnew's charge is valid. We say to the blacks, 'We want you to be with us on the basis of your self-interest," and we say to the white working people. 'We want you to vote for us on the basis of morality. You

ought to do more to help poor people." Durlings. Chicago's Father Paul Asciolla agrees: "The blacks became the darlings of the '60s, and the ethnics the niggers of the North. They learned the Puritan work ethic and the system of meritocracy, and now they're caught in a game where the rules are changing They were just about to cross the goal line with the football when they were tapped on the shoulder and told to give the ball to a black to carry over. They know God is a Democrat, but this year

they're voting Republican.

Somewhat better off than blacks but not all that much, the white ethnics are particularly outraged by welfare. A Polish bartender in Baltimore puts it harshly: "The blacks get welfare and we get highways built through us, and we pay for both." In Newark, where blacks outnumber whites and control city hall, the Italians who remain in the North Ward grimly refer to themselves as "white niggers." Any of their brethren who are too compliant are called "Uncle Ma-rios" who "think black." The whites complain that they are deliberately cut out of federal programs, which are aimed almost exclusively at blacks. Their quarrel is not so much with blacks themselves as with the white liberals who promote this state of affairs. As Stephen Adubato, director of the Italian American North Ward Educational and Cultural Center cynically puts it: "I am sure in a few years a famous conductor will throw a party for us too, and then everybody will understand." The ethnics are down on McGov-

ern, who sums up for them everything that is wrong with the Democratic Party. From their point of view, he made his first critical mistake when he permitted Mayor Daley's delegation to be thrown out of the Democratic Convention. If the liberals thought that the boss had got a well-deserved comeuppance. the ethnics only noticed that a delegation of democratically elected Poles. Czechs, Italians and others had been reiected. McGovern's manner is also not reassuring. Says Barbara Mikulski, a Polish councilwoman in Baltimore who is working for McGovern: "He comes on like a soft-spoken preacher from South Dakota. That style is hard to comprehend in a working-class neighborhood." An aide to Mayor Daley elaborates: "McGovern is the kind of guy who doesn't sweat. No one is more difficult for an Irish Catholic to get along with than one of the nonsweating Methodists." The ethnics want a candidate who, it seems, shares their sweat and is not put off by it. Wounds, But their voting for Rich-

ard Nixon does not mean that the ethnics will become a permanent part of the Republican Party. Father Andrew Greeley, director of the Center for the Study of American Pluralism in Chicago, feels that the ethnics have not forsworn their political heritage. On bread-and-butter issues such as better schools, housing and health services they tend to be for liberal programs. but they insist on getting their fair share. The right candidate could bring the ethnics back to the party in 1976, Greeley thinks. "Can one imagine a Kennedy convention from which labor, the Catholic ethnics and the professional politicians would have been excluded? The 'new' political forces would have been there too. Most of the campaign would not have to have been devoted to binding wounds, since there wouldn't have been any wounds in the first place.

The Republicans, however, will doubtless try to make permanent converts of their new allies. Much depends on how they are received by the party of the WASP and big business. Will they be courted in the campaign only to be thrown over after the election? Or will they add new yeast to the rather settled G.O.P.? Says Pat Moynihan: "Ethnic elements bring their politics to their new party. They often change the party more than they change themselves." By helping Nixon get re-elected, the ethnics can possibly turn more of his attention and energy to the plight of the cities, which the President has neglected in the past perhaps because he had no constituency there. It is paradoxical that those who are among the most fervent remaining champions of traditional American values-respect for established behavior, loyalty to institutions -should be found in what was once considered the source of all alien and subversive activities: the big city. By lending a helping hand to the ethnics. the President could also begin a renewal of the stagnating cities, in which today's ethnic feels so miserably trapped

A Nixon supporter in the Polish section of Pittsburgh. A card game in an Italian social club in Brooklyn.











CHARLES SAGE

TIME Citizens' Panel

TOHN COLLINS

A Few Kind Words for McGovern

Grored McGovern may not be gaining much ground on Richard Nixon at the moment, but he could be in a position to do so if something were to break his way. A TIME Citizens' Panel. conducted by Daniel Yankelovich Inc., over the telephone during the first ten days of October, suggests a softness among some Nixon supporters. The 322 panelists, chosen at random from a scientifically selected sample of 2,323 registered voters in 16 key states, say they are for Nixon nearly 2 to 1. Yet they are split down the middle on what kind of President McGovern would make-4 out of 10 believe he would be a good or at least an average President, the same number believe he would be a poor President, and 2 out of 10 have not made up their mind. A number of Nixon supporters find

kind words for McGovern John Wright, traffic manager for General Foods Corp. from Ridgefield, Conn. notes that McGovern "is a pretty good Senator. He'd end the war-maybe not the best way, but he'd end it." Arthur Sullivan, a retired Independent for Nixon from San Diego, Calif., says: "He'd make a good President. He'd try to do what's right. He'd bring the young and the older generations closer in their way of looking at things." Another Independent for Nixon, Harold Jones, a welder from Rockford, Ill., adds: "McGovern sounds like he means what he says. No hanky-panky." Douglas Peterson, a Republican art educator from Highland Park. Mich., admits: "McGovern's campaign stuff is pretty good. I'm wavering. At first I was for Nixon. Now I'm considering.

In-depth interviews with the TIME panelists reveal, however, that McGovern is still hurting from a "wishy-washy" mage. John Collins, a Republican telephone-company engineer from Livingston, N.J., chose the word swivel-necked to describe the Democratic challenger. "He finds out that the public doesn't like what he said, so he changes it." says Collins. Asked what would worry her about MeGovern as President. Virginia

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The panelists who support McGovern reject the charge of radicalism, and cite their candidate's honesty, his support of eivil rights and his concern for the poorer classes. Beulah Stepp, an Independent who works with retarded children in Detroit, says McGovern 'swil being radical he's being an hunrised heing radical he's being an hunvilled the support of the control of the days. Joseph Turner, a Democratic sevine-machine repairman from Rosevine-machine repairman from Ro-

THE CONGRESS

More Sad Than Bad

At the beginning of the 92nd Congress, Richard Nixon welcomed the legsitators with hyperbole. They had, he said in his 1971 State of the Union address, "a chance to be recorded as the greatest Congress in America's history." He then recited the "sas great goals" that underpinned his "new American revolution." Said the President: "If see ach hold!—"If we severe this moment and achieve these goals—we can close the in American Concorment, and bring together the resources of the nation and the spirit of the people."

When the 92-bd Congress Intally adjusted last week. the gap between performance and promise yawned wide enough to engalf not only the law-makers but the President as well. Of Nixon-sixs goals, only one had passed as requested his landmark revenue-sharped that will provide \$30.2 billion to years, Iwo others, the reorganization of the Federal Government and the creation of a national health-insurance program, never even made it to the floor

of either the House or Senate A fourth, welfare trofform was silled fittee weeks ago, largely because of Nixon's relicate to flight for it (TIMIL, Oct. 16). The major legislation on his two remaining priority goals—scall for environmental cleanup and a plea to Congress' to-operate in resisting expenditures'—did not come to a showdown until the Congress' has days, when it provided for a rare and dramatic confrontation between the Administration and Capitol

This summer, the Administration proposed and helped draft legislation that would clamp a \$250 billion ceiling on spending and grant Nixon wide latitude in making the necessary cuts to tivated by a genuine desire to rein in runaway expenditures. But he was also seeking grounds for castigating the Democratic Congress as a fraternity of high spenders, setting it up as the scapegoat for what seems to be an inevitable tax increase next year. He also hoped to obscure the fact that his Administration had set spending records in spite of his self-proclaimed conversion to Keynes. Congress sensed the trap, but many members regarded the President's proposal as a domestic version of the

blank-check Gulf of Tonkin resolution one that could only result in further reducing the legislative branch's already addly creded constitutional powers. Refusing to part with or even pare Congress's preregative to determine appropriations, a coalition of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans handily defeated the measure in the Senate.

The White House was neatly prepared for that contingency. Well in advance. Nixon had determined to trade bill for bill: when Congress rejected his spending ceiling, he quickly retailated by veloting a major congressional measure stilling on his desk—a water poltition—control hill that would provide unition—control hill that would provide an "unconscionable" price tagl over the near three years primarily for the construction of wasts-treatment plants (see ENVIRONMENT).

But the water bill happened to be one of Congress's legislative showpieces this session: the Senate and House overrode the President's veto just before adjournment. Thus Nixon lost two major battles, but he may still have wont heplitical war. He now has two pieces of evidence with which to convince American voters that he is a conscientious selle, N.J., believes McGovern is more likely to look out for the working classes and enforce the law of the land on matters like school integration. Charles Sage, a Clifton, N.J., scientist and a Democrat, says McGovern "has the potential of being a really great President because he'd make a determined effort to restore respect for our Government and supply moral leadership.

The responses of the panelists suggest that two of Nixon's strongest issues continue to be the "welfare ethic and "giveaway" federal programs, both of which he has energetically opposed in his campaign. Yet the whiff of impropriety about his Administration, perceived in its coziness with big business and the Watergate scandal, troubles some Nixon supporters. Mrs. Roberta Buchanan, a Democrat for Nixon and teacher from Royal Oak, Mich., feels "there must be some element of truth" in the Watergate charges. Donald Derry, a salesman from Livonia, Mich., and a Republican for Nixon, says: "I think the Watergate incident was deplorable.

If the panelists opened the door slightly for McGovern on the corruption issue, they seem to close it on the possibility of complacency among Nixon voters on Election Day. Although 7 out of 10 Nixon supporters are convinced he will win "big," not one thought that was cause for staying home. Says Mrs. Margaret Schultz, a Nixon supporter from San Antonio. Texas: "We've all made that mistake

in the past."

administrator, trying to check inflation and prevent tax increases, while the Democratic majority in Congress is simply profligate. As he often does, Nixon denied that he had even considered the politics of the situation. "I have nailed my colors to the mast on this issue," he announced. "The political winds can blow where they may." Nixon had, of course, tested the winds first and concluded that they would blow him into a safe harbor

That final week of battle was unusual for the 92nd Congress. For the most part it had been marked by standoffs. With Nixon devoting most of his energies to international rather than domestic affairs. Congress had often operated in a power vacuum. Important bills died, several for want of White House support. Among the victims:

- Nixon's welfare-reform measures, designed to overhaul the nation's welfare "mess"-which, he feels, now encourages people not to work-by providing both work incentives and work requirements.
- ► A bill establishing a new consumer-protection agency (the White House quietly fought against it, partly in response to pressure from big business).

A new and expanded coverage

minimum wage bill, upping the minimum wage from \$1.60 to \$2 an hour right away, and to \$2.20 by 1974

- A massive highway bill, with riders that would have permitted the funding of mass-transit systems with money now set aside exclusively for highway construction (the President did not support the mass-transit amendments).
 - A strong strip mining-control bill A major housing and urban de-
- velopment bill An Administration-backed bill banning more school busing for the sake

of achieving racial desegregation. Recognizing the same political advantage the President saw, the majority of Senators and Congressmen were ready to pitch in and make this bill law, but they were thwarted by filibusters by Liberals Jacob Javits and Walter Mondale

Among the important bills the Congress did pass, in addition to the water pollution-control bill and the President's revenue-sharing scheme

- ▶ The 18-year-old vote and the constitutional amendment expanding the basic rights of women.
- ▶ Tighter but still far too mild legislation designed to control campaign spending.

New welfare legislation, with virtually no reform measures, that raises Social Security benefits 20% and benefits to widows and widowers from 82.5% of a dead spouse's entitlement to 100%; extends Medicare coverage to 1.7 million people under 65 who are on Social Security disability pensions; and grants a minimum federal income of at least \$130 a month to every aged, blind or disabled American without other income.

The White House, of course, can find little good in that record. Says William Timmons, the White House's Congressional liaison man: "This lethargic Congress will be distinguished in history more by missed opportunities than by constructive performance. The legislative scoreboard is more a sad record than a bad record." House Speaker Carl Albert offered a weak rebuttal. The 92nd was, he said, a "do-something Congress," one that "did not wait to be led but acted on its own." The fact is that neither the Administration nor Congress had much to be proud of. Urgent business had been sidetracked and scarcely a beginning had been made in Nixon's new American revolution.

Nader's Guide

Having taken the measure of the major automobile manufacturers, meat packers and industrial polluters, Ralph Nader now has sized up every incumbent Senator and Representative in Congress. He offers 486 separate profiles researched and written at his direction by 250 paid staffers and 750 volunteers, including housewives, graduate students, professors and freelance writers. Through their work, Nader attempts to tell the consumers of American democracy-the voters-exactly what they will be getting should they decide to return their local Congressmen and Senators to Capitol Hill. The profiles are billed as Part 2 in Nader's three-stage raid on Congress, Part 1 was a rather superficial paperback overview called Who Runs Congress? (TIME, Oct. 16), and Part 3 will be a study of congressional committees. rules and procedures.

The project is marred by unsubstantiated innuendos and unconcealed bias. But the profiles, called Citizens Look at Congress, lay out for the voters about as much as they might want to know about their Representatives and Senators-and perhaps more. They detail the voting history and characteristics of each state and district, where each subject got his financial backing in the past several campaigns, how he voted on the floor and in committee how much time he devotes to committee work and how he is "rated" by various interest groups. It tells how often a Congressman returns to his state or district, whom he sees there, and how to reach him in his Washington office-either by letter or telephone.

Even Nader has not yet read all 486 reports, which range from 20 to 30 pages each. But the exhaustiveness of the project, and its inherent strengths and weaknesses, are clearly limned in a few choice examples:

▶ Edmund Muskie's profile suggests that if enough people were to read the report, the Senator from Maine would be a long way toward recovery from the blows he suffered during his disastrous presidential primary campaign. The profile not only corrects the "wishywashy" image he picked up last spring but also contradicts an earlier Nader study-group report that accused Muskie of foot dragging on environmental is-









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THE NATION

sues. This time around, Nader's researcher gave "Mr. Clean" high marks on environment and almost everything hee. He is, the report notes, "a crack prosecuting attorney" possessed of "nave intelligence," courage and an ability to weave a kind of seemingly inharmonious strands of ideas. "It does ap an occasional knuts," the courage her in the war, for instance—but it restores much of the Honest Abe image Muskie enjoyed before the primaries.

▶ Eligio de la Garza, Democratic Representative of Texas' 15th Congressional District, is treated less generous-The report claims that there are 25,000 people in the 15th District who do not have potable water but that de la Garza seems uninterested in alleviating the situation. His district is extremely poor, populated largely by Mexican American farmers and migrant workers; yet, according to the report, 90% to 95% of the federal funds coming into the district are channeled to the interests of the 25% "Anglo" portion of the population. The conclusion drawn from the profile is inevitable: de la Garza, a Spanish American, looks out for the well-off Anglos and is indifferent to the needs of his poor Mexican American constituents

Mississippi Senator John Stennis' profile represents one of the Nader report's major lapses. It points out that Stennis has a reputation as a modest pork barreler, and that despite his role as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Mississippi has only four military installations and three defense contractors. Nevertheless, the report suggests darkly that Stennis "may be taking the pork back to his economically beleaguered state." Although the report writer eloquently describes the poverty in which many Mississippians live, he seems to resent the fact that HEW and the Department of Agriculture respectively pumped \$549,622,946 and \$372,261,953 into the state. Would he have preferred that Stennis, who sits on the appropriations committees for both departments, oppose such appro-

priations for his own state?

• The profile of George McGovern leans too far the other way—it is so unricited as to seem reverential. Where it does point up what it considers a flaw, consider a flaw, and the state of the state

him neither humble nor unassuming. On balance, however, Nader's sweeping view of Congress is both useful and fascinating. If nothing else, his appraisals of the country's legislators should start voters thinking about the wisdom of returning some of their Senators and Representatives to office.

Lost Horizon

When the twin-engine Cessna 310 disappeared somewhere between Juneau and Anchorage last week, it set off one of the most extensive aerial searches in Alaska's history. More than 70 airplanes and a sophisticated SR-71 the Air Force's highly developed reconnaissance plane, combed the majestically mountainous area and scanned the waters of Prince William Sound seeking traces of the six-passenger craft. The principal object of the search was House Majority Leader Hale Boggs, 58, who was in Alaska campaigning for Congressman Nick Begich, With Boggs and Begich in the plane were Begich's assistant, Russel Brown, and Pilot Don Jonz. According to FAA authorities, Jonz filed a flight plan that would have



CONGRESSMAN HALE BOGGS Anything but a stereotype.

taken them through the rugged Chugach Mountains, 547 air miles southeast to Juneau.

Though Jone is considered one of the best of Alaska's bush pilots, he has gained a reputation of being something of a daredevid during his 15 years of Hying. He loot his license in 1966 for Hying an overweighted airplane in He rata. In 1968. There may still be rather than the rata in 1968. There may still be some questions about his judgment, all the rata in 1968. There may still be some questions about his judgment, all the reprise. When the Jone plane took off from Anchorage, cloudy, turbulent flying conditions were forecast.

Boggs' loss could upset the Democratic power structure in Congress. The majority leader since 1971, he was next in line to become House Speaker, and was one of three top leaders in the House (with Speaker Carl Albert and Minority Leader Gerald Ford). First elected to Congress in 1940, Boggs—after a defeat at the polls and a four-year

hitch in the Navy-returned in 1946, and has been there since. Representing an urban and cosmopolitan section of New Orleans, he was not the stereotypical Southern Congressman. Though he joined other Southerners in signing a 1956 manifesto opposing school integration, he dramatically came out in favor of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and three years later voted for the open housing law. Brash and at times arrogant. Boggs had a great talent for booming oratory. He thoroughly enjoyed the clubby conviviality of the Congress, but had a high disregard for the tedium of slow-moving House hearings and meetings. He much preferred more sociable activities. His annual May party at his handsome house on the outskirts of Washington was a celebrated social event, with the guest list running to 2 000

If Boggs is indeed dead, the state's party leaders may not have sufficient time to nut another name on the ballot before the Nov. 7 election. Under constitutional law, the Governor of Louisiana cannot make an interim appointment to fill the Boggs vacancy. Thus, should the Democrats fail to name a substitute, a special election would be held later. Boggs' wife Corinne ("Lindy") Morrison Claiborne, a politically astute and experienced campaigner, is one of several who might be in the running for the job. At week's end the search for Boggs and his companions was continuing, but hope had diminished that they had survived.

CRIME

The Mafia Bug

Shortly before dawn one morning last week, 1,200 plainclothesmen fanned out through metropolitan New York to serve 677 subpoenas in what Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold expansively called "the most massive investigation of organized crime in the history of this country." Later Gold climbed into his aquamarine Cadillac and led two busloads of reporters to a gangland "summit headquarters"-a grimy, nondescript house trailer in a Brooklyn junkyard called Bargain Auto Parts Inc. Then, standing on a box inside the two-room trailer, Gold stripped away a section of ceiling insulation and tenderly removed a tiny microphone and a transmitter slightly larger than a pack of cigarettes. The bugging device. Gold explained, had been eavesdropping on the Mafia inner sanctum for six months, dutifully recording what his aides described as "a crime story bigger than Appalachin and the Valachi papers combined

It was hardly that. Though Gold predicts that the evidence amassed by him could "break the back" of organized crime, doubters point out that no subpoena was served on Carlo Cambino, the ailing "boss of bosses." None-



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GOLD DISPLAYING BUGGING DEVICE

Eavesdropping on an inner sanctum.

theless, the investigation affords an intriguing look at the workings of both cops and capos and if Gold is right could result in a stunning series of indictments that would attack New York's embattled Malia clans on yet another front.

The investigation began in December when police, disguised as Christmastree salesmen, set up shop across the street from a Brooklyn bar frequented by mobsters. The surveillance led police to the junkvard trailer where Paul Vario, a capo in the Mafia family of Carmine Tramunti, either met or conferred on three phones with, according to Gold, "all the top members of organized crime." Gold, alluding to an imaginative and innovative approach, is not saying precisely how the bugging device was planted, but it is known that an FBI informer who had unchallenged access to the trailer played a crucial role in installing the "Gold bug.

Setting up an observation post on the top floor of a high school across the street from the junkvard, police compiled a staggering mass of evidence. The bugging device provided more than 300 miles of tape-recorded conversations. Telephone wiretaps produced an additional 21,600 ft. of tape, and 36,000 ft. of color movie film and 54,000 photographs were taken of suspects entering and leaving the trailer. "The view from the summit has not been pretty," said Gold. "We have learned of deals involving the sale of narcotics, extortion and loan-sharking, corruption, coercion, bookmaking, policy, assault and robbery, burglaries, counterfeiting, hijacking, receiving stolen property, forgery, possession and sale of weapons, labor racketeering, stolen-auto rings, untaxed cigarettes, insurance frauds, arson of businesses, the cutting up of autos and boats, prostitution and violations of Alcohol Beverage Control Laws."

Promising indictments "within ten days," Gold said that a Brooklyn grand jury would be given evidence involving nearly 200" legitimate businesses that have been infillrated or taken over the the Moh. Sulpoenas were served on Maña Chieftain Tamunit, the comprises successor to the leadership of the order of the server of the sulpoenas were the long the server of the server of the server of the long the server of the server of the server of the long the server of the server of the server of the long the server of the server of the server of the server of the long the server of the server of the server of the server of the long the server of the server of

Also under investigation, primarily for accepting payoffs, were 100 policemen who visited the trailer In one passage on the tape. Vario is hoard to remark as a cop approaches, the trailer. Here comes had greedy son of a bitch." Then, as the cop enters. Vario says warmly: "Hist, pall" The bugging of the trailer was supposedly made public officer on the task tipped off Vario and his cromes to the telephone taps.

Though some experts on the Mafair question whether a mobiter of Vario's relatively low rank could run as important and widespread an operation as Gold claims, there is hope that the district attorney will be able to make at least some of his charges stick. Predicting "additional sensational developments" in the months to come, Gold says, "I think we could see a couple hundred of these fellows going to jail. That would be unparalteled."

De Mau Mau

The scenes evoked grisly memories of the Manson killings In August. Retired Insurance Broker Paul Corbett, his wife and sister-in-law were found dead each shot in the back of the head with a 25-cal, gun, in the pantry of Corbett's \$100,000 home in the fashionable Chicago suburb of Barrington Hills. A fourth victim. Corbett's stepdaughter, was dead in the blood-spattered kitchen, shot in the chest with a .30-cal, weapon. A month later Machine Designer Stephen Hawtree, his wife and teen-age son were executed in a similar fashion in the basement of their rural home in Monee, III. In both instances there was no apparent motive for the slaughter.

Hallistics tests not only linked the two crimes, but added two more. Police determined that the same weapons used in the Corbett and Hawtree killings were involved in the morters of Minhael Gerchenson, 19. a sophomore at Southern Illinois University who was count of the country of the count

Fearing that the murders were the word of a Mansonstyle gang, some residents of Barrington Hills were even said to have started carrying shotguns to cocktail parties. Last week the gang theory gained some credence. Chicago police announced that they had arrested nine black youths who are members.

of a little-known terrorist group that calls itself "De Mau Mau."

Cook County Sheriff Richard Elrod described De Mau Mau as a group of disgruntled Viet Nam veterans. Racial hatred, he said, "could have been one of the primary motives" for the slavings. "I can see no other apparent motivation." Chicago newspapers were quick to play up the case. Chicago Today, for instance, ran headlines declaring MURDER GANG 3,000 STRONG and DE MAU MAU TAKING OVER FOR THE PANTHERS. Sources close to the blackmilitant movement, however, called such charges preposterous, saying that De Mau Mau was a loosely organized group with less than 50 members.

They shared an elaborate greeting, a rapid meeting of hands, fists and elbows and a whispered chant in the ear, and a common suffering-a lack of jobs and opportunity. Barry Wright, president of the Concerned Veterans from Viet Nam, had met with some of those charged and says that they were bitter because "they couldn't get decent jobs. The way the whole society had turned an about-face just turned them cold. Some people can deal with it and keep on scufflin' every day. But some people it hurts, it affects them." At the Concerned Veterans headquarters in Chicago, one unemployed black veteran said that he could understand the frustration of the accused: "You go to a job interview, and they ask what experience you have. What you going to do-tell 'em you're a trained killer?" None of which, of course, is any rationale for murder.

At their arraignment last week, the suspects appeared with arms extended in the Black Power salute. But one of them muttered disconsolately to deputies: "I just don't care. I hope I get the chair. I just want to get it over with."



DE MAU MAU SUSPECT NATHANIEL BURSE For some, just getting it over with.



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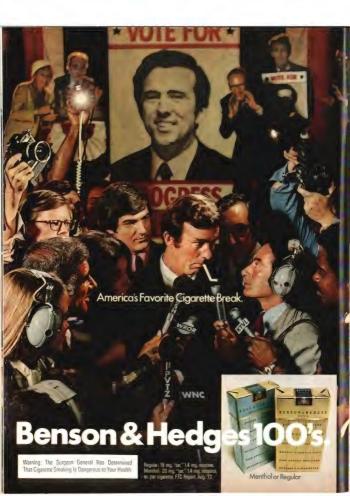
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ISSUES '72

Nixon v. McGovern on Taxes, Prices, Jobs

MORE than crime in the streets or corruption in high places, more even than racial antagonisms or the general feeling of alienation, the domestic issue that rivets the attention of Americans is the conomy. High tases, high prizes, high unemployment—these are the pocketbook problems that the problems of the control of the pocketbook problems that the control of the

activist lead in aiming to redistribute income and wealth more equitably among all citizens. That philosophical dispute colors the two candidates' positions on every basic aspect of the economic issue:

► Nixon would try to trim federal non-military spending; McGovern would raise it by tens of billions yearly.

 Nixon says that he would oppose tax increases of any kind; McGovern would press for severe tax increases on corporations, investors and heirs.

▶ Nixon would give the highest priority to battling inflation, even if his poicies would prolong an uncomfortably steep rate of unemployment; McGovern would drive to restore full employment even at the risk of more inflation.

As the campaign pulls into the final stretch, both the President and the Senator have sharpened their rhetoric. Nixon declares: 'I consider the hattle against higher prices and higher taxes to be the major domestic issue of this presidential campaign. This Government does not need any more of your income, and it should not be allowed to take any more of your salary and wages in taxes."

For his part, McGovern last week repeated his promise to spend \$10 billion

on an emergency program to hire unemployed people and part them to work building housing, public-transi and sewage-plant projects. He also pledged again to spend additional billions for new education and welfare programs. The choice, he asserted, "is between Mr. Nixon's large increases in military spending accompanied by withstantial culbasts in education, bank our said that the companied by which the companied by the companied by the rection—to cut defense spending, close tas (oopholes and use precious public funds to meet our needshere at home."

Though voters are deeply, personally worried about these issue. TIME correspondents' interviews across the country indicate that few people are listening to the fine points of the candidates' debate. The voters are choosing not only between two philosophies but between two men—and between the sometimes annoying known and the vaguely frightening unknown.

In part that is because Nixon, aside from his generalized pielgese to hold down spending and taxes, has refused to let himself be smoked out on many economic subjects. He has yet to enunciate a tax-reform program, or to say how long he might continue wageprice controls, or to indicate what level of unemployment he believes might be consistent with reasonable price stability. This strategy of silence hardly contributes to public enlightenment, but it is effective politically. Voters think hat they know where Nixon stands, even though the President who now decries refcal defictive will have trun up by the ord of this fiscal year a cu-

the focus of discussion—disastrously for his presidential drive. For many voters the campaign as far acconomics goods har resolved it self into a single issue: Can McGovern produce a sound and consistent policy for managing the intricate, deletate, complex U.S. many believe that he cannot. They have concluded that McGovern is a fuzzy hinker who lives his had advice from ultrailbrard economists, changes his mind too often (Nixon's dramatic turnabouts on foreign policy and economic controls seem to be ignored, and makes promise more commission of the production of t

mulative budget deficit of at least \$74 billion since he took office

McGovern, as the propounder of new ideas, has made himself

\$1,000 "demogrant" to everybody-even though the proposal was meant to replace some existing welfare programs-Mc-Govern excited the social reformers, who are a minority in America, while deeply offending multitudes who thought it contradictory to the work ethic (see THE ESSAY, page 96). As Economist Arthur Okun, a McGovern adviser, puts it: "The things that helped him win the division pennant have hurt him in the World Series." When McGovern belatedly buried the demogrant idea in August, he alienated many more people, who decided that in the realm of economics he simply does not know what he is talking about. What is surprising is that voters who

are loudly and sometimes angrily disastisfield with Nixon's economic management are at the same time often anti-McGovern. "The whole economic situation is bad." The whole economic situation is bad." Soe bold leodership to be bring us as bold leodership to be bring us looking us the state of a rout. "Stuart Silver, a construction superintendent in Chegag, frest with "there are soo many people out of the state of the state of the state of the state of "The plans are used to result its of the state of "The plans are used to result its of the state of "The plans are used to result its of the state of "The plans are used to result its of "The plans are used to "The plans are u

"...au Preisten, whose hold leadership

"...our President, whose bold leaders!
is already beginning to bring us
out of the Nixon recession..."

McGovern because " changing his position.

is also wisdown. McGovern's spending and welfare plans is also widesperead, and it is by no means continued to people who are affluent or white or both. Christine Trice, a black who is a dressmaker in Los Angeles, asserts: "There is so much fraud in welfare and no incentive to get a job. Welfare needs cutting down, but McGovern exems to want to add to it, Paying for it will come out of the pockets of working people." In Miami, Leonard Lang, a student and part-time clerk, asy. "I'd very much like to know exercity week. Just for once people want to feel that Uncle Sam is taking his hand out of their pockets."

Economically as well as socially. Nixon is effectively appealing to rising conservative feelings. Vet to the sextent that there is a pro-Nixon vote on economic issues—as distinct from an anti-McGovern vote—it reflects not so much conservative ideology or an intime have improved during the exuberant upturn of the past year.

"The farmer is going to vote for Nixon," declares, William L. Lanier, who raises supheans and tobacco in Georgia. "For the first
time in years, the farmer is making a profil." indeed, the Adminstration in the past year has lifted farm by 15%. Alex Harkness, as construction worker in Knowville, Tenn. says complacently. "I

have a new home, I have a new car. I'm putting a son through college. I'll stick with Nixon and hope the situation will just stay sta-

tus quo for another four years."

The economy certainly has not shaken clear of all its problems. The Government reported last week that consumer prices in September rose one-half of 1% -more than double the August increase-and the growth of gross national product slowed, as expected, to an annual rate of 5.9% in the third quarter, from an unsustainable 9.4% the previous quarter. But the overall record is good. Prices this year have risen less than pay, so the real income of workers is increasing, and G.N.P. for all 1972 is still expected to show a record rise of \$100 billion. Even his Democratic critics concede that Nixon has done a remarkable job of turning the economy around—and turning the economic issue to his favor—since he clamped on price and wage controls in August of 1971, "Nixon has learned a lot about managing the economy," says Economist Otto Eckstein. "Unemployment is high, but the inflation and jobless rates have gone down. People can see an improvement." Eckstein, a Harvard professor, reckons that his own grading of Nixon on economics has risen in the past 14 months from D to A-minus.

The most important Nixon-McGovern differences, though, are not about the economic record but about policy for the

future. Their major points of dispute: SPENDING. This is the area of clearestcut contrast. The American Enterprise Institute, a Republican-leaning think-tank. figures that by fiscal 1975, a Nixon Administration would be spending \$301 billion a year, but the budget of a McGovern Administration would be almost \$85 billion more than that. Under Nixon's budget, military spending would rise from \$76.5 billion now to \$84.5 billion in fiscal 1975, even assuming an end to the Viet Nam War. The rise would be necessary to cover retirement-pay costs and the expense of new weaponry. The rise in civilian spending would be held to only the automatic increases in the cost of present Nixon programs and plans. McGovern would vastly expand nondefense expenditures while struggling to slash the defense budget by \$30 billion. In fact, he has probably underestimated the cost of his own defense plans. The A.E.I. economists guess that he might actually hold Pentagon spending \$21 billion below what Nixon would allow

These estimates are best read as guides to the candidates' intentions rather than as hard predictions. Nixon last week lost his fight to have Congress impose a \$250 billion ceiling on spending in this fiscal year. He can achieve the same result now only by refusing to make expenditures that Congress has ordered, in such areas as manpower training and pollution control. Treasury Secretary George Shultz promises that Nixon will try to withhold enough appropriated money to limit spending to \$250 billion, but the President's legal authority to do so is already being challenged in the courts. The President and his aides have been maddeningly vague about which programs they would cut how much in future years to offset the rise in military spending. In a recent TV interview, White House Assistant John Ehrlichman specified elimination of only the eleven-man tea-taster program, which costs the Government all of \$100,000 a year

Given the legal or political untouchability of rising outlays for Social Security, veterans' benefits, unemployment compensation, interest on the national debt and myriad other items, there are only a few areas where Nixon could cut deeply. The biggest is grants-inaid. These grants, amounting to \$43 billion this fiscal year, go to states and cities for school and hospital construction and services, mass-transit, urban renewal and many other programs. Reducing them would rouse angry opposition from Governors and mayors, who might lose more than they would gain through revenue sharing. Whether a re-elected Nixon really cuts severely depends in part on the size of his majority at the polls. The bigger it is, the reer he will feel to take an ax to social spending.

The prospective McGovern budget also contains as many un-

the amount that the American Enterprise Institute calculates that he would spend in fiscal 1975 represents the estimated cost of a Senate bill that he co-sponsored to have the Government take over payment of most hospital and doctor bills. But McGovern has been notably silent about just who would pay how much to finance his health-care plans. Beyond that, the Senator has a confusing habit of mentioning the same figure in different contexts, leaving doubt as to whether he is proposing a series of programs or merely applying several names to the same ones.

Still, his goals are clear enough. He is committed to his emergency employment program and to a \$15 billion increase in federal aid to education that would enable states and cities to reduce property taxes. He also wants a \$14 billion welfare program that would give an annual \$4,000 in cash and food stamps to a family of four that has no other income. Other families would get enough to raise their income to \$4,000, if they do not already earn that much. (Nixon's rhetorical attacks on McGovern's "welfare ethic" notwithstanding, the President himself did a great deal to make the idea of an income guarantee politically respectable by proposing one of \$2,400 for a family of four, but he made no effort to stop

Congress from killing the plan.)

In addition. McGovern would spend liberally on a long list of other programs, including mass-transit rehabilitation, pollution

control, an expanded G.I. Bill of Rights for Viet Nam veterans and even, regrettably, higher farm-price supports. He has promised farmers supports at 90% of parity v. 75% now. The exact amounts of new expenditures would depend on how much he could pare defense outlays and how much new revenue he could raise.

TAXES. This is really two issues: revenue and equity. On the revenue side, oddly, Nixon and McGovern come out at the same point. Though McGovern's budget would be much higher than Nixon's by 1975, each would be spending around \$20 billion more than his tax policy would bring in, even at full employment. That large a "full-employment deficit" could ig-

nite a rapid inflation.

Though Nixon vows to cut spending enough to eliminate the full-employment budget deficit, chances that he can do it are almost nil. The American Enterprise Institute calculates that he will have to put a walloping 11% surcharge on individual and corporate income taxes by 1975, or find some other way of raising \$20 billion.



"He says he'll go back over some of his mathematics!"

The Administration once toyed with the idea of a value-added tax. a kind of national sales levy, but Herbert Stein, Nixon's chief economist, now says that the President will not recommend one. Nixon is already struggling to pin on the Democratic donkey the tail of blame for some other type of tax increase. In a pledge that has greatly impressed voters, he vows that there will be "no presidential tax increase"-but he adds that there may be a "congressional increase" forced by Democratic spenders. And unless McGovern reduces his spending programs or countenances swift inflation, he has little chance of fulfilling his pledge that "no American whose income comes from wages or salaries would pay one penny more in federal taxes than he does now." If McGovern stuck to all his spending plans and got them all through Congress-two unlikely umptions-his tax increases would have to exceed Nixon's.

On the equity side of the issue, McGovern is quite precise. He oposes tax reforms that would raise \$22 billion a year from af-

fluent people and corporations. Major changes

- · Raise the capital gains tax on the sale of securities or property to the full rates levied on ordinary income. At present, capital gains are usually taxed at half those rates. As an offset, the top income tax rates of 50% on salaries and 70% on dividends, interest and rent would be lowered to 48%
 - ▶ Tear down tax shelters for real estate investors.
- ▶ Repeal the depletion allowances of 22% for oil and gas and lesser amounts for other minerals.

▶ Reduce the 7% investment tax credit.

▶ End the fast depreciation write-offs on plants and machines. The aim is partly to raise revenue, but much more to force

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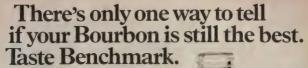
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companies and well-to-do individuals to pay what McGovern calls their "fair share." In the most memorable line of his campaign. McGovern thundered: "Money made by money should be taxed at the same rate as money made by men." This has touched off a great controversy over capital gains taxes. Supporters of the present tax structure insist that money made by money deserves preferential treatment, in part because it represents the reward for capitalist risk taking. They add that McGovern's tax policy would hinder investment that is vital to economic growth. There would indeed be some danger of dampening investment, but McGovern has at least produced a tax program that is logically consistent and that would obey the principle of levying taxes in accordance with people's ability to pay.

The Republican platform also pledges Nixon to tax reform. but what that might consist of is a mystery. The President once talked of providing \$16 billion to local communities for property tax relief, but he now promises unspecified modest sums to reduce property taxes for the elderly only. Administration officials hint that they have in mind some other tax reforms that would encourage investment; these changes look like the opposite of Mc-Govern's. Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson talks of cutting capital gains taxes. The idea is to allow investors to deduct certain sums representing the extent to which the real value of

the gain has been reduced by inflation. PRICES AND JOBS. These two issues are inseparably linked. It would be a crude and unfair oversimplification to say that Nixon is "for unemployment" or that Mc-Govern is "for inflation." But each would face a cruel choice of which to fight harder, and their approaches would be quite

different

Nixon's budget-paring program is aimed as much at checking inflation as minimizing tax boosts. The President hopes to drive the unemployment rate from its present 5.5% to below 5% next year, but many economists doubt that he can do it unless he abandons his efforts to hold fiscal 1973 spending close to \$250 billion. In any case, Administration officials have never set any target date for reaching the traditional "full-employment" goal of 4%. They imply that 4% cannot be achieved quickly without spending so much money as to light inflationary fires.

McGovern is admirably explicit: he has said repeatedly that his "domestic pri-ority No. 1" is a job "for every man and

woman capable of working" and has committed himself to pushing unemployment down to 4% by 1974. He would do so partly by means of his \$10 billion program to immediately hire 1,000,000 people-many of them heads of welfare families-and partly by spending on a wide variety of programs to expand demand throughout the economy. McGovern says on the stump that "the Nixon inflation is ground into every pound of hamburger you buy." But former Budget Director Charles Schultze, a McGovern adviser, concedes that wage and price boosts might be higher under his candidate than under a re-elected Nixon. Schultze insists that the inflationary price must be paid, if necessary, to avoid the social disruption caused by prolonged unemployment

CONTROLS. This is an issue that will face the next President immediately after Inauguration Day. He will have to decide quickly what changes, if any, to recommend in the present law, which expires April 30. Nixon is pledged to dismantle the controls-which he erected in violation of his own free-enterprise principles-as soon as he judges that inflation can be checked without them. He is almost sure to extend them for a while. Indeed, he might even tighten them, at least on labor, in line with the general conservative and anti-inflationary bent of a second Nixon Administration Neil Jacoby, a Republican member of the Pay Board, has suggested that the guideline for wage increases might be lowered to "around 4%" from the present 5.5%. Nixon is under pressure from businessmen to relax the guideline on profit margins, but he has given no hint whether he will do so:

McGovern's spending proclivities would seem to make con-trols even more essential for him than for Nixon, but he long

talked as if controls were a bit of Nixon trickery that he intended to abolish quickly. He has now come around to advocating a control plan of his own, but it is still a less formal one than the President's McGovern would replace the Pay Board and Price Commission with a single review board that would be part of the White House. After consulting with industry, labor and consumer representatives, the board would draw up guidelines for pay and price increases. Compliance would be mostly voluntary, but McGovern as President would retain authority to order rollbacks of increases that "flagrantly" violated the standards.

Many other economic issues also divide the candidates. Nixon, for example, might loosen federal surveillance of business, largely by shaking up the regulatory agencies. Consumer Activist Miles Kirkpatrick is likely to step out as chairman of the Federal Trade Commission and will probably be replaced by someone less eager to force retractions of misleading or overly puffy advertising. McGovern, by contrast, would tighten federal regulation of business. The Justice Department under Nixon prides itself on vigorous trustbusting against conglomerate mergers (without mentioning ITT); but Nixon himself has hinted privately that he would like antitrust laws relaxed for U.S. companies that compete in world markets. Commerce Secretary Peterson has argued that present law prevents textile and steel producers from combining

into larger, more efficient firms that could better battle imports from Japanese and other overseas rivals. McGovern, on the other hand, has called for an even tougher

antitrust policy

Indeed, if Nixon wins by a landslide he would be strongly tempted to interpret his margin of victory as a resounding mandate for a turn to economic conservatism. Alan Greenspan, a member of TIME's Board of Economists who is an adviser to Nixon, says: "As a private citizen Richard Nixon is quite conservative. After the election his policies will probably be significantly more conservative than they were during his first term, but for pragmatic reasons more than ideological reasons. He senses that a tax increase would be very bad for the Republic. As a result, he is quite serious about restraining spending. But will Nixon win by a landslide? The

latest TIME survey of voters, conducted by Daniel Yankelovich Inc., shows McGovern gaining some ground on the economic issue, but nowhere near enough. As of ear-

ly October, voters still chose Nixon by 37% to 30% as the man most likely to provide jobs for everyone, and by 44% to 22% as the candidate who could best keep prices down. Indeed, the more relevant question seems to be whether the issues raised by McGovern can survive an overwhelming defeat.

At first glance, it would seem improbable. Many economists now interpret last spring's clamor for tax reform as a confused cry from the middle class to keep its own taxes down, rather than to raise levies on others. "People are not interested in income shares but only in the level of their own taxes," Greenspan argues. The only welfare reform that the public seems to crave is one tightening work requirements. Certainly it will be a long time before any politician again advocates \$1,000 for everybody.

Yet even a substantial Nixon victory would not be likely to bury the McGovern-raised issues entirely, but only drive them underground for a while. They could easily re-emerge-soon and with force. If Nixon is compelled to propose a tax increase, as he probably will be, he will touch off an acrimonious quarrel about tax preferences for corporations, investors and high-income people. If the tax increase is needed largely to pay for greater military outlays, the argument over spending priorities will break out again in full cry. Conversely, if Nixon's budget hold-down causes the economy to slow and unemployment to rise from an already too high level. Democrats will certainly revive the pressure for a jobcreating program. McGovern's ineffective campaign has deprived the nation of the searching debate over its economic future that once seemed likely this year. But he has provided abundant raw material for the Democratic candidate of 1976-and beyond



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WILLIAM WHITELAW

THE WORLD

NORTHERN IRELAND

A Timetable to End Terror

THE Protestant sections of Belfast burst out last week in sudden and open fury. During two nights of violent rioting, which included a threehour gun battle with British troops in the heart of the city, six people were killed and more than 100 soldiers and civilians injured. The rampages marked the first major Protestant attacks on British troops since the soldiers were sent to Northern Ireland more than three years ago to curb violence between Ulster's Catholics and Protestants. The riots also coincided with a tough new mood in Westminster. A British government source last week told TIME that Britain is no longer disposed to let its troops be shot at indefinitely while the opposing Ulster factions refuse to get together and reach a political settlement

If the Northern Irish do not settle their differences and come up with a new constitution within four months. the British government will impose one of its own making. If a new constitution has to be imposed and the Ulster political parties refuse to operate under it. said a Whitehall insider last week, "we would be faced with a situation of the utmost gravity in which our total withdrawal from Northern Ireland cannot be ruled out." The government has a detailed timetable worked out. The Cabinet is determined that one way or another there will be a new constitution ready before next March, when the special powers that Westminster assumed over the province will be one year old and, by law, must be either renewed or ended

Within the next week or so, the Brit-

ish government intends to publish guidelines to its own thinking on what provisions a new Ulster constitution might contain. Westminster strongly favors some form of regional assembly in Belfast; it does not approve of a revamped provincial Parliament dominated by a Cabinet-such as the one through which the Protestants ruled Northern Ireland from Stormont. And Britain does not want the full integration of Ulster into the United Kingdom in the manner of Scotland and Wales. A regional assembly could be modeled along the lines of the Greater London Council, with various assembly committees-some headed by Catholics-administering the province's financial, social welfare, housing, transport and general police affairs. Internal security would remain under William Whitelaw, Britain's Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, for an indefinite period Foreign affairs and defense would continue to be handled, as in the days of Stormont, by Westminster

White Paper. The obvious hope of the Briish Calbinie is that the guidelines will encourage representatives of althe Ulster political parties to meet independently with Whitelaw and work out a settlement of their own that can then be presented to Westmister. Extremist Cathfolic and Protestant group can hardly be expected to cooperate, of course, but the government is prepared to proceed with an "agreed" solution to proceed with an "agreed" solution the Unionist Party (which has traditionally represented most Protestants) and the Liberal Allance Party (which in cludes many Catholics). If no one agrees, the Cabinet will then formulate its own solution. However the formula is arrived at, it will first be presented as a White Paper early in the New Year (probably at the beginning of February), at the same time that a referendum is held on whether the citizens of Ulster want to join Ireland-a proposition that the Protestant majority seems certain to reject. Soon after, the White Paner will be translated into a bill and placed before Parliament. To help ensure its passage, Opposition Leader Harold Wilson and his shadow cabinet will be invited to assist in the drafting of the legislation.

That timetable to end the terror of Ulster was being prepared long before the Protestant riots erupted last week But the riots underscored the futility of Britain's trying to keep the peace while waiting for Ulstermen to negotiate a settlement among themselves. The waves of attacks were a controlled show of frightening power by the paramilitary Ulster Defense Association, Little more than a clubhouse of toughs and workers less than a year ago, the U.D.A. now claims to have 53,000 members, including a few American "volunteers" who body seems to have seen). It also boasts of having almost unlimited sources of funds, a claim somewhat supported by the fact that its former chairman is now awaiting trial in London on charges of trying to buy nearly \$1,000,000 worth of firearms.

Few Orangemen of any persuasion seem to have the heart these days to say no to the U.D.A., which dispenses jobs, money, small favors and, of course, local protection in Protestant areas. It even handles the burying of the dead. In a prelude to last week's rioting, the U.D.A, buried with its own form of full

military honors two young Protestants who had been killed by British army vehicles. According to the U.D.A. one of the victims, a 26-year-old man with a limp had been chased by a Saracen personnel carrier and deliberately crushed against the side of a house; the other, a 15-year-old boy, had been trapped and run over by a Land-Rover. According to the army, on the other hand, both had been accidentally hit during a riot. On the first night of the rioting, the U.D.A. set up flower shrines, each covered with the Ulster flag, at the places where the two victims had been killed. On one of the shrines was hung a hand-lettered sign: REVENGE IS SWEET. Earlier the U.D.A. had described the deaths as cold-blooded murders and issued a "declaration of war" against the British army. "To hell with the British army," it said. "To hell with the British adminis-

tration. The British army and the British government are now our enemies." Soon after, the attacks began.

While the fighting went on, the U.D.A. succeeded in getting the British commanding officer, General Sir Harry Tuzo, to attend private peace negotiations at U.D.A. headquarters. The talks were conducted as if they involved two major powers. After two days and six hours, U.D.A. leaders emerged solemnly to announce that they had agreed to a truce. Declared one U.D.A. spokesman, surrounded by aides in commando battle gear: "Our war with the British army is now over," Many Northern Irishmen are not so sure. Said one moderate member of the Unionist Party: "The task is to get through the next six months without a major bloody conflict.

That task got no help whatsoever from William Craig, leader of the militant Ulster Vanguard, who last month formed an alliance with the U.D.A. Addressing a right-wing Conservative Party group in a meeting room at Britain's House of Commons last week, Craig declared: "We are not prepared to accept any dictate of a government that has sold us down the drain. I am prepared to kill!" In an extraordipary outburst that stunned his audience. Craig predicted that Ulster will declare its independence after a bloodbath in which the Protestants will destroy the Catholics. "Six hundred people have died in Ulster." he said. "A thousand and more will die before Christmas." It was the sort of violent rhetoric that so often has inflamed the agony of Ulster. If the Northern Irish ignore Britain's program for a new constitution and force the British to pull out. Ulster could be engulfed in the bloodiest battles in its

COMMON MARKET

The View from the Summit

We are not seeking to submerge our national personalities, but to combine them into a European personality that will make its weight felt.

-Edward Heath in Paris

RENCH President Georges Pompidou struck almost the same theme when he declared that "Europe is a reality, with its own personality." Yet, in their two days of meetings last week. the political leaders of Europe demonstrated that the Common Market is still beset by the divisions that have handicapped it since its founding in 1958. France is determined to maintain a loose confederation of nation states



OPENING OF EEC MEETING IN PARIS Its own personality.

while the other members are, in varying degrees, committed to the creation of a Europe that is united politically as well as economically.

As the Common Market summit ended, the divisions were still apparent. A 3.500-word communiqué, produced after a prolonged bargaining session that forced delegates to cancel out of a planned farewell party for them and some 400 guests, proclaimed the leaders' common objective: European union by 1980. The nature of that union was not specified. The Dutch, heading the supranationalist contingent within the European Economic Community, even threatened to veto any progress toward monetary union unless it was accompanied by sufficient advances in political integration. The Belgians finally produced a compromise-that the Community leave it to the the Com-

mission and the European Parliament to devise plans for political union-but set a three-year deadline for a blueprint that even Pompidou could accept.

The summit also marked the entrance of Britain into Europe's troubled suprapolitics. Just two days before the Paris meeting, the House of Lords was notified of Royal Assent to the treaty specifying the terms of British entry into the enlarged EEC-along with Denmark and Ireland—on Jan. I. As Prime Minister Heath had put it: "In this new partnership we have a chance as a great people, as a formidable nation, as a shaper and molder of the modern world, to get back into action.

The French press hailed the summit as the largest gathering of political notables since the 1919 peace conference that produced the Treaty of Versailles: but the Champs-Elysées remained bannerless and unfestive beneath a brilliant autumn sky. As delegates began to arrive at the spruced-up Hotel Majestic from which the Viet Nam peace negotiators had been temporarily evicted. 1.500 uniformed policemen lined the nearby streets: plainclothesmen huddled in elegant doorways looking for all the world like pimps for the fun girls of Montmartre.

As if arriving delegates needed to be reminded that Europe faces a Japanese economic challenge as well as one from America, they were obliged to pass a huge Toyota showroom whose beaming proprietors happily threw open their doors and handed out free drinks and sandwiches for any spectators who stopped to watch the

leaders of Europe assemble. Each of the top echelon of leaders had been honored on arrival in Paris by the playing of his country's national anthem-each, that is, except the President of the EEC Commission, Sicco Mansholt. In French eyes, the able Mansholt does not rank with the heads of government-and besides, what music would you play for him, since the EEC has no anthem. During the planning stage of the conference, Mansholt had been scheduled for only the least important of four official luncheons -which ranged from heads of government at the Elysée Palace to a lunch for the foreign ministers at the Louvre. down to a catch-all meal for "others" at the Hotel George V. Only after some adroit lobbying from Brussels was Mansholt upgraded from the George V to the Quai d'Orsay

In his opening statement, President Georges Pompfidur declared that the links between Europe and the U.S. "are so close that it would be absurd to conceive of a Europe constructed in opposition of." He added: "But the very position of the added "But the very ropean personality must assert itself or open personality must assert itself or open personality must assert itself of the additional to the control of the additional to the additional

The Community's leaders were openly concerned that the summit would be so unproductive as to damage even further the Common Market's reputation among their own constituencies and particularly among the young (TIME, Oct. 23). It was true enough that the deliberations were not the stuff that dreams are made on. Nonetheless, the leaders took a notable step toward creating a common currency by agreeing to set up a central authority that would have the power-and the funds-to help member states defend the stability of their currencies. It would also have the power to coordinate the narrow ranges within which the European currencies are allowed to fluctuate (a process that Europeans sometimes colorfully describe as keeping "the snake in the tunnel")

inflation. As expected, the delegates made an important concession to West German Chancellor Willy Brandt. Who faces a close election new month, who faces a close election new month, countries should take joint action against inflation, thereby, in effect, assuring the West German electorate that inflation is a European problem and and inflation is a European problem and and inflation is a European problem and members enjoined their friance Kintieses, which will meet next week. In Lusembourg, to prepare a program for combatting inflation on a Communitycombatting inflation on a Community

Although inflation is one of Europe's hottest political issues, the Common Market in the long run will be judged more by its success in improving the quality of European life. Underlining the need to "appeal to the imagination of future generations," as Denmark's new Prime Minister, Anker Jörgensen, put it, members agreed on the need to delve into social issues that the Market has not faced before: problems of employment, consumer protection, the environment, the role of multinational corporations, and the treatment of Western Europe's approxi-mately 6,000,000 "guest workers." Besides the long-term effect that such a program could have on the attitudes of younger Europeans, it might well provide an immediate boost to the political fortunes of Brandt and Pompidou, both of whom are stuck at the moment with unfulfilled domestic promises of

BRITAIN

A Fresh Start

On former military bases now converted into refugee centers across Britain, thousands of Asians from Uganda last week wound up their ten-day celebration of Navratri, a Hindu festival of songs, prayer chants and dances in honor of an ancient war victory by the god Rama over the demons of the underworld. The incense and joss sticks were often lit at makeshift shrines on card tables, and the traditional ornate. hand-painted dancing sticks were replaced by plain wood dowels. Displaced and dispossessed, the refugees nonetheless found abundant reason to celebrate Said one technical engineer, who arrived in London with his wife and seven children: "We are here. We are safe We are very happy.

So far. 18,000 Asians of British circumping has landed in England from Uganda sa result of General lid. Anni Dada's expulsion order. Several thousand more are reactling in Ganada, search size have been a search size have been as a search size have been been as the been of full compressation, are estimated to be worth more than a billion dollars. Despite rumors of wealth secreted in British and Switzerland, many of the refugees have arrived, as one British substitute of the search of the

As they left the Ugandan aurport of Entebbe, the refugees said, they could see rows of their cargo crates still stacked beside the runway. Some of the crates had already been opened, externation of the cause they designed the placked over like boxes of fruil like cause they feared searches at roadblocks and airport customs, the refugese carried with them only the barset of personal bolonging, often chosen in haste a tenna racket, lape recorder, they are the present of the control bracelets to give to people in England. One family, luckier than most, smuggled out a diamond valued at \$10,000. In Uganda, nearly all of the Asians

had been prosperous they are estimated to have controlled 80% of Uganda's economy). But still they complain remarkably little about their drastically diminished status. "Actually," says an engineer, "I was going to come earlier. The only difference so that I would have included the state of the state of

Family reunions are curiously without tears. A university student in a pinstriped suit awaits his father, a wellto-do-Ugandan architect who will probably not qualify to practice in England What are his emotions about this turn in the family's fortunes." It's a bloody tatarant owner from Europala. "There is no big problem. You only have to begin from seratch-work and earn, and

CELEBRATING NAVRATRI FESTIVAL





slowly, slowly everything will be all

Though some of the refugees say that difficulties and harassment in Uganda have subsided, there are still occasional reports of random terror. One father arrived in London only to receive a call telling him that his son, after driving him to the Ugandan airport, had been stopped by sodilers and slowly cut to death with machet-like purewards, to businessman said him he left wires. A businessman said has he left wires, A businessman said has he left agastation chain were stopped while carrying the week's receipts into Kumpala, put into the trunk of a car and driving to a village where they were hanged.

Britan Approve. Such excesses have helped make Amin Public Enemy No. 1 in the eyes of most Britons—and created some sympathy for the arriving Asians. Last week Amin called British High Commissioner Richard Slater into the office before live I'V camers and accused him of plotting against the Ugandan government. London arress and accused into of plotting against the Ugandan government. London arress and accused the properties of the propertie

.....

Still, the Asians must find jobs in one of the worst and most prolonged periods of unemployment in Britain's postwar history. Before the influx, there were already 600,000 Asians in the country. Their coexistence with vocal nockets of racism was at best an uneasy one, and there were fears that the situation might be exacerbated by the new immigrants. Some quarters of the Asian community have rallied round. however. A group of prominent East African Asians already established in Britain have quietly assembled investment capital to assist the refugees in rebuilding their fortunes. They are urging them to avoid areas where there are already large Asian communities. Says Praful Patel, a business consultant who serves on the government-appointed Resettlement Board: "If they want to make a success of themselves in Britain, they have got to try to integrate as quickly as possible and avoid making little ghettos.

The path to integration has been somewhat eased-and their welcome made a little warmer-by new estimates that only some 26,000 Asians, instead of the 30,000 to 50,000 refugees originally expected, will immigrate to Britain. Even so, there will probably be another 5,000 Asians left behind, and they are the unluckiest of all. They earlier rejected British passports in favor of Ugandan citizenship, which has been arbitrarily revoked by Amin. They are now stateless. Britain has declined to consider restoring them to citizenship, and has referred their case to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. But there is growing concern whether any international body can act swiftly enough to save them from being further victimized.

SOUTH KOREA

Power Grab

Tanks rumbled into Secoll Iss week and took up positions in front of the National Assembly, the capitol, the opposition-party headquarters and newspaper offices. Troops surrounded thouse of the celtifor of Secoll's biggest daily and quickly turned Yonsei University into an armed camp. Then, in a pre-recorded television speech, President Park Chung Hee informed South Korcans that he was proclaiming martial was and dissolving the National Assembly and the procession of the present th

imposed tight censorship on the press.

Park, who first took power in a military coup eleven years ago, cryptically declared that his move was necessary to reform the political structure, con-

pears to have increased tensions and imperiled the talks with North Korea—the opposite of his stated intentions. Radio Pyongyang last week charged that Park had acted "to dampen the desire and aspiration of the South Korean people for peaceful reunification."

Participant of the property of the participant of t



SCHOOLGIRLS FORM PARK'S PORTRAIT ON ARMED FORCES DAY Tanks, bayonets and an Orwellian atmosphere.

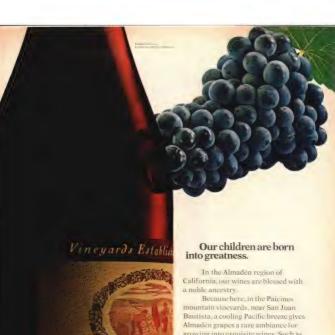
trol "irresponsible political parties" and each et problems of reunification with North Korea. He said that draft amendments to the constitution will be announced this week and put to a national referendum next month. He also expressed fear that "the interests of smaller countries might be sacrificed" as a result of the U.S.-China delenue—meaning that the U.S. would no longer automatically and fully back any regime inst because it is anti-Communist.

In fact. Park's real motive appears to have been to enhance and prolong his own power. There has been none of the political instability, social unrest or economic chaos that ordinarily precedes martial law. Park already had sweeping powers under a state of emergency declared law. Park already had sweeping powers under a state of emergency declared law. Park already had sweeping powers, invoked on the grounds of an imminent attack." Irom North Korea, were used to stifle the political opposition. His new action, moreover, an-

everyone suspected, it indicated that Park is planning an extension of his presidential term, which under the constitution is due to expire in 1975.

The South Korean President has shown a hunger for extraordinary power before. In 1969 he had the constitution amended to permit him to run for a third four-year term. He won that term in last year's voting, but not nearly as handily as he had anticipated. Kim Dae Jung, leader of the New Democratic Party and a relatively unknown politician at the time, polled 46% of the popular vote on a campaign against Park's police-state methods and in favor of peaceful reunification. At the same time. Park's Democratic Republican Party lost its two-thirds majority in the Assembly, while the opposition doubled its strength to 89 seats.

In Tokyo, where he was visiting (and decided to remain for the time being). Kim denounced Park's action. "His



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A LMADI California Moude GAMAY BEAU A fine fragrant red wine, India made from the true Gamay Benjaling grown in Mountain Viserate

Almaden Vineyards, Los



Sunkist Growers' salesmen find they save time and money if they always make appointments by Long Distance with out-of-town customers they want to visit.

THE WORLD

stated reason that the constitution requires revision is a hollow excuse." he said. "Nearly everyone in South Korea already supports reunification of the country."

On a visit to Seoul last week, TIME's Tokyo Bureau Chief Herman Nickel found an Orwellian atmosphere. "When you enter the door to the biggest newspaper, Dong-a Ilbo." he cabled. "you have to watch out that you don't get scraped in the face by the bayonets that two grim-looking paratroopers hold crossed on their M-16s. For obvious reasons, it was hard to get much comment from Koreans. But passers-by appeared visibly startled when they saw the big American-made M-48 tank menacingly pointing its gun from the entrance of the National Assembly. A soldier waved the bayonet of his M-16 at us when we photographed the tank and ordered us to wait for an officer, who fortunately let us go. It seemed an odd turn of events in a land where two decades ago 34,000 Americans died in what was then billed as the defense of the free world."

SOVIET UNION

Short Supplies

In Moscow last week, basic foods were in ominously shorts supply. To combat hoarding, bakeries were plastered with posters urging DONT BLY MORE BREAD THAN YOU NEED POISTS HAVE MORE BREAD THAN YOU NEED POISTS HAVE WEEKEN WEEKEN

Shortages outside the capital were more severe. At Moscow's nine railway stations, hordes of villagers could be seen lugging bundles of food homeward. This drain on the capital's supplies had led police to cut train service and confiscate food at the terminals. Last week a despondent traveler told TIME Correspondent John Shaw that he had been caught with 175 lbs. of cabbage he was trying to take to his village. Police seized 150 lbs. of his haul, "I'll be back next week," he said ruefully. Pravda reported long queues at bakeries in Gorky, a major industrial center, while travelers said that in cities as widely scattered as Saratov, Yaroslavl and Kharkov, cereals had been virtually unobtainable for weeks. Northerners from the Barents Sea port of Archangel complained that their rationed potatoes were "not much bigger than peas The Soviet Union is suffering from

its worst food shortages since the crop failures of 1963—as Agriculture Minister Vladimir Matskevich recently acknowledged. Such admissions are rare. As Russian trade officials in Washington pressed last week for rapid delivery of 11 million tons of American wheat and other foodstuffs, the Soviet press maintained silence about the \$1.5 billion worth of agricultural produce



"Don't buy more bread than you need."

the U.S.S.R. has contracted to purchase from the West through June.

tron line Westintroggs zute: these purchase is expected so no tallesia statistical countries and the state statistics of staple foods, especially bread for flex Bussians timend to mill the fine-quality American and Camadian wheat for fluur. Their own sparse grain crop present shortages of feed have forced to the source of the Soviets to staughter precious tive-stock herds that are insufficient even in the best of times. Although this may provide a temporary bonanza of meat the best of times. Although this may provide a temporary bonanza of meat of dairy orduces to disminstration of dairy in orduces.

Breaking Point. The shortages are caused by a combination of Russia's capricious climate and the country's in-difficient system of production and distribution. In 1971-72, European Russia Itilities are followed in unable seeks against record spells of frost. This was followed by a drought during the hottest summer of the century. The resulting crop damage and late harvest taxed the Soviets' imadequate technology to the breaking point. Trucks, harvesting manapower all seemed to be in the wrong place at the worng time.

In August and September hundreds of thousands of agricultural machines, and an equal number shipped to the worst-and students, seeker shipped to the worst-harvest. Still, the grain yield slone, in 1972 is a critical 30 million tons under total expectations of 190 million tons under total ex

this year's satisfactory virgin-lands harvest was attributed by *Pravda* to "the wisdom and foresight of our party's agrarian policy."

Still, the cost of that policy is proving huge. The hard currency the Soviets sorely need to buy Western industrial equipment and technological know-how is now being spent for food. In 1972 such expenditures already exceed the value of all Soviet imports of Western technology during the previous five-year plan. The Russians have also lost the \$30 million a year they earned until recently from their grain exports to Western Europe. To make matters worse, prospects for the 1973 harvest look bleak, as planting this fall runs 25% behind schedule. This probably explains the Soviets' ready compliance with U.S. demands that they pay premium rates to American ships that will carry grain and other foods to Russia Besides this \$180 million deal concluded last week, the Kremlin also agreed to pay \$722 million in settlement of their \$11.1 billion wartime Lend-Lease debt to the U.S. (see BUSINESS)

The Soviets are also planning to pour an impressive 21.5% of their total capital investment during the next three years into more machinery, fertilizers and land improvement to increase productivity on the farms. Still. Western analysts predict that the U.S.S.R. will become a permanent importer of grain, unless radical reforms of the agrarian system are undertaken. At the Supreme Soviet meeting in Moscow this fall, agricultural planners exorous but unspecified "measures" to prevent a recurrence of this year's mortifying failures. Last week the Kremlin moved to reallocate 20 billion rubles from other economic sectors to the agricultural budget.

ion worth of agricultural produce Premier's "hare-brained schemes." But ricultural b

Aeroflot Katastrofy

The long, slim jetliner was trying to land at night in heavy rain at Sheremetyevo Airport, 18 miles northwest of Moscow, and by some accounts was making its fourth pass at the runway. Villagers in the nearby hamlet of Krasnaya Polyana (Red Glade) suddenly heard a series of explosions. Tramping by torchlight across muddy potato fields, they found the red and silver tail of the Acroflot Ilyushin-62 sticking out of a cold brown pond. Beneath the water, or on the fields across which the plane had skidded, were the bodies of all the passengers and crew. Unofficial reports indicated that they numbered 176, which would be the largest loss of life in the history of civil aviation."

It would also bring to nearly 400 the number of people who have died in Aeroflot katastroly in the past five months. Just nine days earlier, a turboprop llyushin-18 carrying 106 known passengers and crew crashed into the Black Sea shortly after takeoff from the resort city of Sochi. No bodies were recovered. Last June a turboprop Antonov-10 crashed near Kharkov in the Ukraine, killing 108, many of them children on their way to summer holiday camp. In addition to the three Aeroflot tragedies, 156 people died in the crash of a Soviet-manufactured Ilyushin-62, operated by Interflug, the East German airline, near East Berlin last August.

When a reporter phoned the Soviet foreign ministry to inquire about the Moscow crash twelve hours after it happened, an official replied: "What crash?" It was another six hours before Tass, the official news agency, reported the disaster, and still another 18 hours before Pravda covered it in twelve lines on its back page. The Soviets had to acknowledge the tragedy because there were 38 Chileans and five Algerians aboard the flight, which had begun as a charter from Paris; if no foreigners had been involved, the crash might never have been reported. News of the Sochi disaster leaked out only after Aeroflot sent letters of sympathy, and symbolic, empty urns to the victims' next of kin, along with 300 rubles (\$333) each in compensation. The Soviet obsession with secrecy-especially about major accidents-naturally breeds suspicions that there may have been other air crashes that went unreported.

Standess. Perhaps to counter international doubts about Aeroldo's safety record. Soviet authorities agreed to let two representatives of the U.S. Air Line Pilots Association visit Moscow to discuss the latest crash. One obvious talking point: Why was the Hyushin permitted to attempt a landing in poor visibility when the airport's instrument landing system was out of action?

Easily the world's biggest airline.

*In July 1971–162 persons were killed after a collision over Japan between an All Nippon Airways Boeing 727 and a Japanese Au Force F-86 Sabre ser lighter Aeroflot expects to carry 80 million passengers this year over its 350 trunk routes and 1,000 local services. Westernens find some practices disconcerting for instance, the line commonly find the common of the common of the common pass that the common of the common of the asstandees. The possibility of overload, ing is increased by Aeroflot's habitual failure to check the weight of hand baggage. Soviel prossengers often have as the overhead racks as they do in the baggage hold.

agge thou, supects of Actolot are difficut to sees. As the civilin are offthe Saviet Military Air Command, the airtine is shrouded in security. Actrollor pilots generally receive the same training -rated good by Western experts—as those in the Soviet military. They also have to undergo a physical examination before each flight. As for is planes, the artime itself clearly has doubts about of the property workshorses of the Actrollor domestic fleet. These here removed or passenger service since the Ukraine crash.

CHILE

Allende Challenged

A pall of tear gas hung over Santiagans tood Soldiers toing submachine
guns stood on nearly every street corner,
and enforced a midnight-od-duxn curfew. Half the city seemed out on strike
ertruckers. Isa'u owners, and even a majority of doctors, dentists, lawyers,
engineers, pharmacists and maritime pilots. In a television appeal, beleaguered
President Salvador Allende Gossens declared that the country was on "the
brink of civil war."

That was probably an exaggeration, though there was no doubt that Allende's regime was facing the gravest crisis since he took power two years ago. What had happened was that Chile's middle classes suddenly coalesced to challenge the government by going out on simultaneous strikes. Allende responded by calling in the army to enforce the law. The military, under growing pressure from Chile's political right to throw Allende out, was so far grimly following orders—at the risk of alienating many Chileans.

The sudden wave of strikes started two weeks ago in the sparsely settled southern province of Aisén. The government had announced plans to set up a mixed government-private highway transport operation there. Angry truck owners-who in Chile are mostly one- or two-vehicle operators-promptly walked off the job, and others, fearful that Aisen was only the first step in a full-scale government takeover, joined the protest. By last week 5,000 truck owners were on strike, severely curtailing shipments of supplies to the capital. Retail store owners quickly shuttered their shops in sympathy with the truckers

The strikes could not have come at a worse time for Allende or the Chilean economy, Inflation for the first nine months of this year is a staggering 99.8%. The price of siriolin steak, on the increased 200% stew beef up 116% powdered milk. 166% Wheet and bread are in short supply. Butter has disappeared. But cell hunger threatened only peared but cell hunger threatened only a strike to be solved in the strike of the st

Allende replied to the wave of strikes by extending the "state of emergency"—a measure short of martial law-to-2 1 of Chile's 25 provinces. One thousand trucks were confiscated and free union feeders arrested. Ecalous carabinarso dispersed strollers on city streets with tear gas or with powerful streets with tear gas or with powerful control of the control of the



At the same time. Allende was clearly on the political defensive. He offered to submit the truckers' demands to mediation and they refused. Then he invited the opposition Christian Democrat leaders to meet with him to discuss ways of ending the strike, only to be rebuffed again. Last week Santiago bus owners threatened to strike and Allende hastened to meet their demands with only minor reservations. He agreed to draft a law guaranteeing that bus transport will remain in the private sector, return three nationalized bus companies to their owners, and drop lawsuits against transport leaders brought during the strikes

The busmen struck anyway, almost paralyzing Santiago. Meanwhile, the truckers, who had started it all, moved to take advantage of Allende's seeming-ty weakened resolve. They announced that they were joining with other strikers to present a new set of demands to the government, in effect raising the price that Allende must pay for civil peace.

CANADA

Once More with Feeling

At a shopping center near Toronto last week a young if hurst through the security guard around Prime Minister Pierre Ellion Trudeau. 53, and planted asks on his check. Another woman on the fringe of the crowd gushed: "He still has the aura." It was hard to believe that Trudeaumania—as Canadians called their particular pointaine and particular pointaine and the properties of the propertie

Whether they were sufficiently entranced to re-elect him was in fact the major issue of the campaign, since he had acquired as many opponents as supporters during his four years in power. As TIME's Ottawa Bureau Chief Lansing Lamont reported last week. Canadians "remember the sense of expectancy that Trudeau generated in 1968, but have come to realize that he has generally governed Canada with more cautious pragmatism than panache." The Prime Minister was also suffering from television overexposure and a perilously short temper. Once he had demanded of Western farmers: "Why should I sell your wheat?" On another occasion, he rebuffed a group of demonstrators with the sarcastic comment "Where's Biafra?" Still another time, he told a group of striking mail-truck drivers to "manue; de la merde."

Such gaffes might have been politically disastrous for Frudeau if he were not pitted against the Canadian whom many would vote most difficult to elect Robert Stanfield, 58, an able former Premier of Nova Scotia, is eminently



TRUDEAU & WIFE MARGARET SEATED IN FRONT OF PARTY POSTER IN MONTREAL

qualified for the job of Prime Minister, in every particular except political flair. He seems to be everybody's fumbling, bumbling "Uncle Bob." a gray personality whose speeches seldom arouse the electorate. A traveling rock band and miniskirted "Stanfield Giris" have been recruited to add color to his campaign—but they are not enough.

—out ney are not enough.

Stanfield nometheless has a convincing sase in unemployment. Some 7.1% of Canadians are out of work. Every-off of Canadians are out of work. Every-off of Canadians are out of work in the converse of the converse

work ' Quebec Nationalism. Trudeau proclaims that the major issue is "the integrity of Canada"-meaning a continued place in the Confederation for Ouewhere the separatist Parti Québecois won 23.06% of the vote in provincial elections two years ago (but decisively lost two by-elections earlier this month). Trudeau has responded to Quebec nationalism by trying to assure French-Canadians of a larger role in Canada and particularly in government which has cost him votes among English-Canadians. They have complained about French signs on post offices, and the use of their taxes to alleviate unemployment in Quebec, which is one of Canada's poorer provinces.

On the other hand, the past four years have seen energetic strikes toward a new and more independent foreign policy. Trudeath beat Richard Nixon to Moscow by twelve months, and Canada established diplomatur relations with Trudeau has also shown considerable toughness or resisting US. demands to revalue the Canadan dollar and rewrite a pact on auto trade that has worked



STANFIELD (RIGHT) & ADMIRER Everybody's "Uncle Bob."

more in Canadi's favor than the U.S. expected when the agreement was nego-inted in 1965. But Canadian national-six were disappointed by government is used to be considered in the control of the control

Still, a third party has generated the most heat in the campaign-the New Democratic Party, which is socialistoriented and is already in power in the Western provinces of British Columbia. Manitoba and Saskatchewan, N.D.P. Leader David Lewis has stumped the country accusing "corporate welfare bums" of paying less than their share of taxes and in some cases no taxes at all The latest Gallup poll gives the New Democrats 21% of the vote, the Conservatives 31% and the Liberals 44%. only 1% less than in 1968 when they won 155 seats in the 264-seat House of Commons

PEOPLE

The small package was addressed hind the singer and pouring a cup of to Singer-Actress Barbara McNair at the Playboy Club in McAfee, N.J., and it had hardly arrived before federal narcotics agents swooped down and arrested her and her husband Rick Manzie for possession of half an ounce of heroin. After their arraignment in Newark, photographers flocked around so persistently that Manzie seized hold of one: then Barbara joined the melee, and it finally took a dozen U.S. marshals to restore peace. Two days later, claiming that her career had been devastated and that many bookings had been canceled, Barbara declared that the whole thing was an inexplicable frameup. "I do not use narcotics of any kind," she said. "I mean, I hardly even drink."

Aside from its 11,649,000 native citizens the state of Texas claims a number of honorary citizens, including Ara Porseghian and Eva Gabor. The latest notable so honored is Spain's Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón, who received a visit from W.H. ("Dub") Jackson Jr., head of a delegation of 80 Baptists arriving for a tour of Baptist communities. "It is heartening in this day of skepticism." said Jackson, "to have Ithe Spanish] invite our folks to come." As a final gesture, Jackson presented His Royal Highness with a ten-gallon hat and cowboy boots.

"We'll see which one of us he loves more by which song he sings first," said Eunice Shriver as she introduced her guest of honor, Rock Singer Neil Diamond. Funice and Sister-in-Law Ethel Kennedy had both put in requests at a McGovern-Shriver "This is fund-raising picnic. a terrible predicament—I'm chicken is what I am," Diamond confessed. He tried to escape by beginning with some of his own favorites, then got up enough nerve to swing into Eunice's choice, Sweet Caroline. Ethel responded by creeping up bebeer over his head. Thus prompted, Diamond quickly moved on to his next selection: Ethel's favorite, New York Boy.

Norman Mailer shot dead? Through the rear end? With his pants down? It's all just a bit of fiction, said Alan Lelchuk, author of a soon-to-be-published novel in which one character bears that name and suffers that fate. Libel, retorted the real Norman Mailer in a confrontation. "I wouldn't die with my pants down," said he. "You're the fa-ther of us all," Lelchuk protested. "You taught us to go as far as you can with lit-As the meeting progressed. erature. there was "shouting and screaming and yelling," according to one

participant, but Lelchuk refused to eliminate the scene. "Lelchuk, I don't ever want to meet you in an alley, Mailer warned, "because if I do. you're going to be nothing but a hank of hair and some fillings.

In Gorham, Kans., to shoot a new Peter Boadanovich movie called Paper Moon. Ryon O'Neal carried on devotedly with his newest co-star. That was only natural, since she is his nineyear-old daughter Tatum (by RYAN O'NEAL & DAUGHTER TATUM

a tour of the college lecture circuit. His



his first wife, Joanna Moore). The pair

amused a group of school children by performing balancing tricks along a deserted railroad track, and when Tatum

earned more applause than her father.

O'Neal remarked, "I guess it's natural

with her. Her mother was an actress and

Asked for her own views on acting, Ta-

tum ventured, "Yes, I like it, but I'd

his arm. Actor-Turned-Storyteller Du-

vid Niven flew into London to plug his

autobiography, The Moon's a Balloon.

and disclosed that he has nearly finished

his first novel, which he calls his "secret project." Next month, armed only

with "an absolutely appalling desire to

be frightened," he comes to the U.S. for

With his attractive wife Hjördis on

rather play with my kitty, Alley O.

so was my mother. It's in the family."

topics? "I haven't a clue to what I'll be talking about. I'll just improvise on the spot, I think.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MY MARRIAGE. said the headline of a story in which Joan Kennedy unburdened herself to the Boston Sunday Herald Traveler and Sunday Advertiser, On Ted Kennedy: "I am more in love with him than ever." On rumors about other women: "I am bored to tears with gossip about Ted and his so-called illicit romances. I simply go in and ask him about them and that's all." On rumors about Ted and Amanda Burden: "Pure nonsense Of course I know Amanda. Not intimately. but we've met at parties." On sympathizers: "I am fed up with people who refer to me as poor Joan.

Outside the Soviet embassy in London. Hayley Mills joined in a demonstration for the liberation of Lyudmilla Prussakova, pregnant Russian Jewish woman who has been arrested several times since she and her husband tried to emigrate to Israel. Said Hayley, 26. now wife of Producer-Director Roy Boulting: "I am doing this for humanitarian, not political reasons. I am expecting a child in January, and I can understand the feelings of any woman who is in the same position."





HAYLEY MILLS & DEMONSTRATORS





Southern Comfort now outsells all but 44 of the 12,829 brands of distilled spirits*

Outsells all brands of liquor of all types except 6 vodkas 5 gins, 13 Bourbons, 9 blends 5 Scotches, 4 Canadians, 1 brandy and 1 rum. Source according to published industry report



*because it tastes so delicious

Make this simple taste test and you'll know why so many people have been switching to Southern Comfort. It will also show you how to make better tasting drinks. First ... fill two short glasses with cracked ice. Pour a jigger of Bourbon or Scotch into one. Sip it. Then do the same with Southern Comfort. Sip it, and you've found a completely different kind of basic liquor . . . one that actually tastes good with nothing added. No wonder so many experts use S.C. instead of ordinary whiskey when mixing drinks. They know this "switch" improves most drinks tremendously. Get a bottle; try it in your favorite. Like Sours? Make both of the recipes shown below. Then compare them. The very first sip will convince you!

ordinary SOUR

1 jigger (1½ oz.) Bourbon or rye 1 teaspoon sugar 1/2 rigger fresh lemon ruice

Shake with cracked ice; strain into glass. Add orange slice on rim of glass and a cherry. Now use recipe at right. See how a simple switch in basic liquor improves this drink.

WHAT IS SOUTHERN COMFORT? It's a special kind of

Make both recipes . . , prove it to yourself! improved SOUR

1 jugger (11/5 oz.) Southern Comfort

1/2 teaspoon sugar 1/2 pager fresh temon juice

Mix like ordinary recipe. Then sip it. Southern Comfort's delicious flavor makes a remarkably better-tasting drink. Comfort* Sour as it's mixed at the Hotel Mark Hopkins in San Francisco

Southern Comfort

ce: 754, 2 for \$1.00

basic liquor. Long ago in old New Orleans, a talented gentleman was disturbed by the taste of even the finest whiskeys of his day. So he combined rare and delicious delicious taste still unmatched by any other liquor. Try a bottle; find out how good it tastes straight, on-the-rocks, or in highballs,

Also available in Canada, SOUTHERN COMFORT CORP 100 PROOF LIQUEUR ST LOUIS MO 83132

On September 13, Ford Motor Company and 6,035 Ford and Lincoln-Mercury dealers announced a new goal:

No unhappy owners.



Here's what's happened since.

We listen.

And we're concerned about a very real problem in the car business.

Unhappy owners.
So several weeks ago, we took a first step toward solving our share of

the problem.

We published the message shown at left. And we also ran it across the

country. With it, we did two things. We began inviting unhappy owners to come forward.

And we outlined a system for helping to get their problems solved.

> WE INVITED. YOU RESPONDED.

Almost immediately, things began to

happen.
Owners of our cars did respond. And

still are.
That's fine with us. It shows that our program is already beginning to work.
That people are taking it seriously.

A CORRECTION: WE SAID 6035 DEALERS. MAKE THAT 6283.

When we made our first announcement, 6035 Ford and Lincoln-Mercury dealers were behind the program. Within a few days, that figure jumped to 6283.

Which means that as of this writing, nearly 95% of the dealers are solidly behind the program.

behind the program.

And that's good. Because they're the key to achieving the goal.

ONE POINT NEEDS REEMPHASIZING: WHAT TO DO IF YOU'RE UNHAPPY.

When we set up our system for solving the problems of unhappy owners, we created something nobody else had. A whole new Ford Customer Service Division. Designed to help straighten out problems the customer and the dealer can?

Well, almost the instant we made the announcement, the Customer Service Division received a barrage of letters. Which means in effect, that people

are short-circuiting the system.

Doing Step Two first.

And completely bypassing Step One.

There are some very good reasons why it's to your benefit not to do that.

SEE THE DEALER FIRST. HIS SERVICE DEPARTMENT HAS A NEW LOOK.

We feel confident that most service problems that come up will end where they should. With the dealer. Because along with the technician, the equipment and the tools, he now has a whole new way of giving service.

A SERVICE QUALITY GUARANTEE.

No unhappy owi

We guarantee

our service

work for

90 days or

whichever

4000 miles.

Every single one of the 6283 Ford and Lincoln-Mercury dealers is now guaranteeing his service work for 90

days or 4,000 miles, which-ever comes first.

If his repair

or replacement fails in normal service within that period, it will be fixed free of charge. Parts and

And that guarantee goes, whether your car is still under warranty or not. So if you've got a problem, bring it in. If it's covered by new-car warranty,

it will be fixed free.

If not, yes, you will pay for the job.

But you can be assured of first-rate
work. And in most cases, your problem
will end right there. If it doesn't,
bring your car back again, the job is
guaranteed.

There's more, too.

A REPORT CARD

Attached to your service bill, you'll find another good incentive for improvement. It's a report card. What you do is take it home and grade the service you got. Then send it back. It goes

right to the dealer himself.

If you're not happy, say so, Loud
and clear. That way he can do something to correct the problem.

If we did something wrong,



THE TECHNICIAN WILL SIGN THE JOB.

It isn't just the people in the property of the people in the people in

the goal of "No unhappy owners." The people who do the work are, too. So from now on, when you go to pick up your car, you'll find a card with your technician's name on it.

NOW-IF YOU'VE BEEN TO THE DEALER AND YOU STILL HAVE A PROBLEM-

This is where Step Two comes in. The Customer Service Division. And, quite

frankly, with the changes the dealers have made, you shouldn't have to use it. But if a situation arises where all the dealer can do isn't enough, by all means, get in touch with the Customer

Service Division.

Write. Describe your problem. Tell
them you want action. A Ford Customer
Service Division representative will
contact you quickly. And he'll work

with you and the dealer to try to straighten things out.
If you own a Ford, Mercury or Lincoln, it's something to think about. And if you don't, it's really something to think about.

FOR THE ADDRESS OF THE CUSTOMER SERVICE DIVISION OFFICE NEAREST YOU CALL TOLL FREE: 800-243-6000

If you want information about our cars and trucks or if you want to know where we stand on safety, emissions,

quality control—anything— Write: Ford Motor Company Listens, Box 1973, The American Road, Dearborn, Michigan 48121.

Let us know what's on your mind.
We listen better. And we'd like to
prove it to you.

Our goal: No unhappy owners.



...has a better idea (we listen better)



TENACE HITTING DRIVE



CINCINNATI'S CATCHER BENCH MAKING TAG

SPORT

World Series: Superfreaks v. Superstars

T would be difficult to find two teams more different in mode, mood and deed than the Oakland Athletics and the Cincinnati Reds. Oakland, champion of the weak-sister American League, had come to be thought of as Finley's Freak Show, after Owner Charles O. Finley. They adorned themselves with flowing manes, mustaches and green-and-gold uniforms reminiscent of the Gay Nineties. The players feuded among themselves sporadically and with Manager Dick Williams constantly. They just barely won the pennant in the American League, struggling through five tough games to defeat the Detroit Tigers, who have grown considerably long in the tooth. At the top of this gallimaufry was the biggest flake of them all. Owner Finley, who carried his team round the country for years looking for a nice home before settling in Oakland. Finley personally leads the cheers in the stands like some mad Roman emperor.

Favorites. The rival Cincinnati Reds were something else again. One of the classiest teams in the classier league, they had defeated the World Champion Pittsburgh Pirates for the National League pennant. They had the bulk of the superstars on their side, names like Catcher Johnny Bench, Second Baseman Joe Morgan, Outfielder Pete Rose. Their uniforms were modest, their locks a model of tonsorial tidiness. Ironically, they played a wild, freewheeling brand of baseball, while the A's tended to play a more conservative game. Cincinnati speed and power made the Reds solid favorites at the start of the World Series. Yet the A's startled everyone by jumping off to a 3-1 lead in games, and only a magnificent rally by the Reds forced the most exciting series in years to a full sev-

The A's started the series with a major handicap. They had lost Slugger

Reggie Jackson (25 home runs in 1972) in the final play-off game against the Tigers when he severely ruptured a hamstring muscle while sliding into home plate. Enter Catcher Gene Tenace (five home runs in 1972), who began the season on the bench and only won his job from Dave Duncan in the past couple of months. Tenace quickly silenced the sanguinary Reds fans in the opener. lashing home runs in his first two trips to the plate to set a new World Series record. Oakland managed only two more hits all day off three Cincinnati pitchers, but they were enough. Ken Holtzman and Relievers Rollie Fingers and Vida Blue checked the Big Red batters with seven hits (only one for extra bases) as the A's took the first game 3-2

The following day Tenace stepped aside for more likely heroes: Leftfielder Joe Rudi and Pitcher Jim ("Catfish") Hunter, Rudi, the most consistent hitter on the A's and a contender for the American League batting crown, belted a long drive into Riverfront Stadium's left-field stands for what proved to be the deciding run. Rudi made sure of that in the ninth by climbing high up the left-field wall to rob Denis Menke of a run-scoring double. The remarkable catch earned Rudi a place in World Series history next to Al Gionfriddo, who robbed Joe DiMaggio in 1947, and Willie Mays, who did the same thing to Vic Wertz in 1954. Hunter, a 21-game winner last season, threw a six-hitter to give Oakland a 2-1 victors

The teams sped to the West Coast. Oakland loose and laughing. Cincinnati tight and brooding. "I've said all along it would take us six or seven games to win." insisted Reds Manager George ("Sparky"). Anderson. But that sounded like whistling past his own graveyard: no team in World Series history had lost the first two games on its home

field and gone on to win the series. Meanwhile, the A's mound staff had thrown mittfuls of sand into the Big Red Machine. The Cincinnati offensive relied on the ability of its first three hitters-Rose, Morgan and Centerfielder Bobby Tolan-to get on base before Johnny Bench brought his booming bat to the plate. Over the 1972 season the trio had scored a total of 317 runs, while Bench had smacked 40 homers and driven in 125 runs (tops in either league). But in the first two games the threesome had reached base only five times in 25 at-bats, and Bench was cast in the unusual role of leading off an inning six different times. Said Rose, glumly: "We don't make money when Bench is hitting with no one on.

Oakland fans, high on their first flush of pennant fever since Finley & Co. arrived there five years ago, packed Oakland-Alameda County Stadium (something they have rarely done) and screamed wildly for a series sweep by the Athletics But Cincinnati proved too tough for that. After a day of near monsoon rains that turned the field into a marshland and caused the postponement of the third game, Cincinnati's Jack Billingham squared off against Oakland's John ("Blue Moon") Odom in what was to be the tightest pitchers' duel in essentially a pitchers' series. While Billingham and Reliever Clay Carroll blanked the A's with three hits, the Reds got clutch hitting and base running from Tony Perez and Cesar Geronimo in the seventh inning and emerged with a precarious 1-0 triumph.

Chess Morth. There were rescoin other than pure pitching prowess for the power failure of two hard-hitting ball clubs. Television, as usual, had made the team owners offers they could not refuse, and the games were scheduled to be played during prime TV time in the populous East. Than instant that they populous East. Than instant that they the players, squinting in the gloom, bittlery biamed for the fact that 21 batters struck out that evening. With the hittens took hitting and the pitchers be-

How to pick the best color portable from Sears or anyone else

Will you sacrifice color quality by getting a portable instead of a console?

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the black

9

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del 11881 Considering features, service and Se mendability, you get a lot more with

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Why a diamond is forever.

Tons of rock must be crushed to find one little diamond. When it comes from the ground, a diamond is only a dull crystal.

But, if in this rough form it is judged to be of high quality, it is chosen to be part of the small percentage that are gem diamonds.

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Cutting is a long, painstaking process, involving a thindise context with oil and diamond dust. It is also an expensive process, since about half of the original rough diamond is lost during the work. This loss comes from the cutter's effort to give the claimond its most beautiful shape and to remove natural imperfections:

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gen on earth.
These 58 facets give each diamond three veryspecial qualities. Brilliance the reflection of light back into the eye of the beholder. Fire—the division of light into colors of the spectrum. And scintillation—the power to twinkle at the slightest move.

No matter how big or how small a diamond is, it carries the weight of 3,000 years of legends. The big diamonds, like the Hope and the Great Star of Africa, aren't the only ones that have carned wide renown through the centuries.

Queen Victoria, who owned many fantastic jewels, favored her tiny diamond engagement ring given to her by Prince Albert. And one of the most small diamond given by Victor Hugo Moved to tears by a performance of Sarah Bernhardt's, he gitted her with siamond drop, to symbolize his tear

A diamond is forever. A big promise for one little diamond to live up to laken from below the earth, every diamond is crafted to become the most cherished gem on earth. Beautiful individual and indestructible, like the love it symbolizes.

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ginning to show signs of strain, the serices turned into something of a chessmatch between Managers Anderson and Williams, whose locks are as loonine as any of his players, kept written tabs on Anderson's strategic line-up changes. He made a number of substitutions himself, notably at second base, where he has alternated as many as four men a game.

weekly, bein Williams seeming to get the weekly, bein Williams seeming to get the better of the duel. His lines moment came in the last inning of the fourth game, when he sent three pinch hitters to the plate. Each promptly produced a single. Those hits added to a single by the terror Tenace (who eventually tied a record by hitting four World Series home runs). brought Oakland a lastminute 3-2 victory and an all but unbeatable edge.

All but. The next afternoon, in the makeup game, it was the Reds who provided the ninth-inning histrionics. With the score tied 4-8, Rose singled Geronium home from second to keep the back on their home ground, the Reds ended their drought. Led by Bench, who his his firsh home run (and thus notiched his first saint of the series C. incrinant hatter the control of the series C. incrinant hatter the his in a R. 4 win, tying the Series at three games apiece and setting up Sunday's dramatic showdown.

Rumanian Rhubarb

At times, it looked more like street ricing than Davis Cup tennis, Indeed, the cup finals, won by the U.S. last week on the rust-red clay courts of Bucharest, seldom ewen resembled the mannerly game perfected in 1873 by Major Walter Clopton Wingfield as a diversion for English society.

The U.S. had previously won the cup four years in a row. But this year few experts gave Captain Dennis Ralston's charges much of a chance of defeating the wily and temperamental Rumanians. Ilie Nastase and Ion Tiriac, on their home grounds. In the face of rowdy fans and the worst officiating this side of Olympic boxing, only a superlative performance by Army Specialist Fourth Class Stan Smith. 25-who won both his singles matches and teamed with Erik van Dillen, 21, to take the doubles -enabled the U.S. team to eke out a 3-2 victory Said a disgusted Cap-tain Ralston. "We've been under the most incredible circumstances ever. This is the toughest place to play I've seen anywhere

Smith showed his class in the first match against Nastava. 26, keeping his cool while the gallery of 6,500 partisan fans shouted "Hai, Bleutae" "Co. fittle Illee"). Nastase, an army lieutenant and the closest thing Rumania has to a matinee idol, ran the gamut of his storied anties. He danced back and forth while waiting for a serve, interrupted play to swant as all by with his racket, and soccer-

kicked a hall to the sidelines. The crowd lapped it up, but Smith refused to be shaken. Leading 10-9 in the first set, he responded to a Nastuse charge at the net with a soft job that landed on the baseline to give the American the set. The gallery quickly piped down, and was not heard from again as Smith went on to win in straight sets. 11-19, 6-2, 6-3.

"Italiste." Trine: 33, proved even more outrageous than his countryman, returning to the backboards to sulk when-cert a call wornt against him. That did not happen often. At one point Smith served a clean acc only to have a Rumanian lineman call it out. Another time a lineman belands; ruled thus a lineman belands; ruled thus a lineman belands; ruled thus a lineman belands; ruled the normal point has been according to the return past the Rumanian. The calls became so bad that the referee, Enrique Morea of Argentina, took the unprecedented by





STAN SMITH DURING CUP FINALS Incredible circumstances.

expelling one of the linesmen. He would repeably have liked to include most of the statistim. The fans repeatedly ignored pleas for "fuinter" (silicency, and cheered widtly at every American missale. When the small American section offered up cheers, the rest of the gallery had the temerity to show indignation, one Rumanian fan shouted. "Quiet! It's not a basehall game."

But for sheer unattractiveness, nothing quite matched Tirace's attack on James Van Afen, a patriarch of American tenns. Objecting to what he American tenns. Objecting to what he to the stands, threatened to emasculate Van Afen and called his started wife a bitch. When Smith shook hands with firea after their match, he told for respect 16 men and the stands of the stands of the stands with a stands when the stands with the stands with the stands of the stands o

EDUCATION

We Put It All Together

Its hall is decorated with a picture of Malcolm X and the red green and black flag of black liberation. As its leader strolls down the corridors, he frequently greets his pupils with the black-brotherhood handshake. This is no revolutionary institution, however, but a Catholic parochial school. Holly Angels, one of the largest and most unusual in the U.S. It is both strict and successful.

Holy Angels' 1.300 students all come from Chicago's crumbling South Side ghetto, home turf of the feared street gang, the Black P Stone Nation

Bellamy: "If you shoot spitballs in class or throw trays in the cafeteria like you do in public school, you're really in trouble. You might get paddled or have to work in the cafeteria all of lunch period, so you don't get a chance to play."

Parents welcome the discipline. Says James Smith, a diesel mechanic who has sent four children to Holy Angels: "In public schools, the kids come home with their heads busiced open from fighting, and they also have drug problems. I don't have to worry about that at Holy Angels." Adds Teacher Lucille Whitehead, who also has sent four chil."

tions at Holy Angels was to recruit a black staff. Including the Rev. Paul Smith as principal of the parish school. Clements also installed a new altar inscribed with what has become the parish slogan. WHE PUT IT ALL TOGETHER—BY OURSELVES.

To carry out that boast, Smith organized parents, teachers and children to help rebuild the school. They repaint-

him a saint." One of Clements' first ac-

ganized parents, teachers and children to help rebuild the school. They repainted rooms in bright colors, made new classrooms out of an old storage closet and an unused back entry, and knocked out walls in the cobwebbed basement to createspace for a library of 5.000 volumes, mostly diseards from the Chicago public library.

To avoid interference by the conservative officials of the archdiscese. Clements has made the once subsidired school completely self-supporting. Its meager \$375,000 annual budget comes entirely from unition, supplemented by public drives such as the one now raising funds for additional air conditioners. The 34 teachers (17 of them pursimust clean filter own classrooms.

Now Holy Angels is preparing to expand, but in its own peculiar way, to uscommodate the hundreds of students it
turns away for lack of space. The parish has leased an abandoned railroad
embankment that towers three stories
above the school grounds. Parents gathreed on recent weekends to help clear
brush and weeds, and next year the parish will install six mobile cleavesoms.
Says Clements: "This is going to be our
school in test ky."



FATHER CLEMENTS & PUPILS AT HOLY ANGELS SCHOOL IN CHICAGO The three Rs are reading, religion and racial pride.

Their parents, half of schom are an uselfare, must promote in advance not only to pay \$18 a month but also to attend monthly P.T.A. meetings and weekly Mass—even though less than half of them are Catholic. "This is a Catholic school first, not a community school." Gederates the halk parish priest, the Rev George Clements. "We want them to see an example for their children, and we want non-Catholic parents to understand what their children are learning

This learning which lasts all year tound, includes both religion and black heritage, but the emphase is on relentless drill in reading and math "We're preparing them for predominantly white high schools." says Clements. They won't be getting ghetto tests there. The school's stern discipline includes were pudding as a last resort the properties of the p

dren to the school: "Parents are more cooperative. In public schools, kids do whatever they feel like doing and many parents don't seem to care. At Holy Angels, they even call if their kids don't have homework."

In defiance of much modern educational theory, the combination of drill disand discipline seems to work splendidly. In the two years since Clements came to Holy Angels, its students in grades with the confour through eight have raised their raised their tonal average, while those at a nearby spublic school still score two grade levels below national norms.

The church and school that Clements took over had long been drifting toward ruin. Erected in the 1890s when the neighborhood was heavily Irish, the buildings were in sad disrepair, attendance and revenues dwindling rapidly Clements. 41, was a native of the South Side and an active militant who once declared Martin Luther King Jr an unofficial sain! "because blacks have made

Rebellious Youth?

What do young people think about the world? One answer was provided last week by the publishers of Who's Who Among American High School Students, an annual directory of 105, 000 class presidents, valedictorians and other "leaders." Some results

More than 80% approve of President Nixon's policies, and 47% plan to vote for him (37% favor George

to vote for him (37% favor George McGovern).

The students give the Government low marks only in the field of pollution control: 82% think it is not doing

enough, and 93% voice the same criticism of industry.

As for sex, 71% say that they have never engaged in intercourse, and 49% want to marry a virgin.

Drugs? Seventy-two percent report that they have never tried marijuana. and 68% say that they would not do so even if it were legal, but 77% say drugs are readily obtainable in their communities.

At home, finally, 81% say that they have happy family lives.

For a generation that is supposed to be greening America, the high school students seem surprisingly conventional. Or perhaps the youths who get into a Who's Who have simply learned how to answer questionnaire.

MEDICINE

Up from Depression

The Danish theologian-philosopher Sören Kierkegaard called despair "the sickness unto death." His description also applies to the severe psychiatric illnesses once labeled melancholia by Freud. These are not the down moods that plague everyone occasionally, but immobilizing and devastating conditions that often cause physical signs and symptoms like loss of appetite and weight, insomnia and slowness of body movement

Psychiatrists have long suspected that there is a physiological basis for severe depression. They know that thyrotropin-releasing hormone (TRH), a substance released by the hypothalamus at the base of the brain, triggers the production of thyroid-stimulating hormone (TSH); now, they hypothesize that it may have another function as well. Drs. Arthur Prange Jr. and Ian Wilson of the University of North Carolina School of Medicine and the North Carolina department of mental health have found that TRH, which can be synthesized in the laboratory, seems to function as an antidepressant. They have used it experimentally to provide apparently safe relief to patients suffering from severe depression.

Short-Term Lift. Their findings. reported at a medical meeting in Copenhagen, grew out of studies of TRH's pharmacological effects on laboratory animals. When these experiments showed no apparent side effects from the substance, the team administered it to 18 women suffering from severe depression. In a preliminary test at Dorothea Dix Hospital in Raleigh, N.C., eight of the women who received a single injection of TRH experienced prompt, though in all cases, short-term improvement.

In subsequent studies, also at Dorothea Dix Hospital, ten other women responded equivocally to saline injections. but favorably to TRH when the two were administered in alternate sequence over a two-week period; no other medication was administered. Other experiments conducted independently reinforce those of Prange and Wilson. A team of researchers headed by Drs. Abba Kastin and Rudolph Ehrensing at the Veterans Administration Hospital in New Orleans reported in Lancer that its members administered IRH to five patients. All experienced relief from depression to some degree, and in at least two cases the improvement was marked.

The researchers cannot fully explain why TRH works. The preliminary results have been so encouraging, however that further investigation is demanded. Most drugs now used to relieve the symptoms of depression can produce undesirable side effects [RII so far has produced none.

Hidden Pregnancy

Because the risks of certain medications and diagnostic procedures are not fully understood, doctors are especially cautious when treating pregnant women, frequently altering prescriptions or deferring them altogether until after delivery. In the first month or two. however, some women are unaware that they have conceived. That ignorance can be costly, both to the fetus, which may be damaged by drugs or X rays. and to the physician or hospital, which may later be sued for malpractice. To avoid such problems, some doctors now Hospital is a long bus ride away. The project's one bright spot since

1965 has been the Columbia Point Health Center. Organized by Tufts University Medical School with federal funds the center has provided a variety of high-quality medical and social services. After the clinic's first two years of operation, a survey showed that 91% of the people thought that the medical care available to them was "good" or 'very good." Now the 1.130 families are in danger of losing the clinic altogether Reason: chronic and bitter controversy between professionals in the center and black community activists in an unstable environment. It is the kind of fight that occurs all too frequently in and around ghettos.

Tufts has abolished its department





DENTAL CLINIC

recommend that all women of childbearing age be tested routinely for pregnancy in a doctor's office or when admitted to a hospital. The experience of two hospitals that have done this on a trial basis supports the proposal. Screening of 292 patients at New York City's Lenox Hill Hospital found 13 unsuspected pregnancies; tests on 290 women at Los Angeles County-University of Southern California Medical Center identified twelve

Siege at Columbia Point

Built on a former garbage dump that thrusts into Boston Harbor, the Columbia Point Housing Project has never been an appealing place. The stark. institutional-style buildings and their occupants-now mostly impoverished blacks and Puerto Ricans, with a minority of white pensioners-are isolated both geographically and culturally from Boston proper. There are no private doctors in the project, and Boston City of preventive medicine, which originally sponsored the center, and has encouraged patients to look elsewhere for care. Four of the clinic's seven doctors and all of its social workers have quit out of fear and frustration. Though lastminute negotiations have stopped the other professional staffers from following, the center's chances for survival

are dim. Part of the reason is crime. Fear of robbery and assault-always a problem -has worsened to the point that many families have left. Their apartments often remain empty because of the project's reputation. In the past couple of years the threat of crime has become so serious that residents and doctors alike feel besieged. Says Dr. Sol Fleishman, a former medical director: "When I first came. I didn't hesitate to go out on calls even at night. By last year I thought twice before going out in broad daylight.

Even more damaging has been the political warfare, with Tufts and the

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SOMETHING ELSE THE FIGURES SHOW One out of every two highway fatalities involves the drinking driver. One out of every

two. Please, if you drink, don't drive. Thank you. Cadillac Motor Car Division.







medical staff on one side and militant critics from the community, most of them black, on the other. A loosely knit elected body called the Columbia Point Health Association often speaks attacks have come in the form of anonymous leaflets charging incompetence and insensitivity. The controversy reached a crisis point last spring after the then administrator, Leon Bennetto cut costs and personnel he considered superfluous. He also attempted to fire a black business manager whom he accused of gross incompetence. Bennet-Alder became the target of threats by phone and leaflet. Then, on the way to work one morning, he was bludgeoned so viciously that his skull was shattered. There was no attempt to rob him, and the identity of the assailant remains unknown. Bennet-Alder recovered and left the center:

the business manager still has his job. Angry Wolves. One of the gut issties continues to be white-collar jobs for project residents. Dr. Jack Geiger. the center's creator, points out that pumping large amounts of cash-the current budget is \$1.4 million-into a desperately poor area is risky. "It's like throwing a pound of meat to 50 angry wolves," he says, "They'll kill each other to get a bite." But racial pride and sensitivity about the condescending attitudes of some white professionals are also crucial factors. Gloria Nelms, a black former psychiatric counselor at sponsible for the leaflet attacks, charges that "Bennet-Alder did everything possible to keep the Health Association from developing the ability to run the center. He also cut off training for paraprofessionals from the community." Opposition from some quarters in the community is virulent. Even some of the newer black administrators are being pilloried for "the same plantation mentality as the whites who came

Help has now arrived with the intervention of Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), a citywide agency that has replaced lufts as the administrator of federal funds for the center. The group is heavily staffed with blacks and is determined to rally Columbia Point residents in support of the clinic. ABCD is trying to enforce some of the efficiency measures started by Bennet-Alder but is imposing them gradually. It has also hired a black as acting administrator and persuaded the remaining staffers to stay for a while. The agency, says ABCD Director Bob Coard, "is not about to retreat from involvement in Columbia Point because of a few faceless suboteurs." Coard may succeed, but for final. "I got battle tatigue," says the physician, "after 61 years of hassles with everyone.





HOST PAHOPIN WITH SOCIAL EDITOR MARION YOUNG IN T-T-V-6 STUDIO

MODERN LIVING

Neighborhood TV

Like other TV viewers, the residents of Parker Towers, an apartment complex in the New York City borough of Queens, can tune in to a numbing variety of national and local television shows. But the 1,350 families in the Towers can also watch programming cast from directly beneath their apartments in the basement on their own television station, T-T-V-6.

By turning to Channel 6 on week nights between 7 p.m. and 8:30 p.m.. Parker residents can see other tenants and their children and pets, neighborhood merchants, cops and politicians in a mélange of TV shows produced entrely within the apartment complex.

The undisputed star of T-T-V-6 is Andy Pahopin, 51, the chief maintenance man of Parker Towers, whose apartment is conveniently located a few doors away from the 9-ft by 11-ft. TV studio. In addition to being host and chief interviewer on many of the programs. Pahopin has his own "Uncle Andy" show, which features Parker youngsters dancing, singing and-at times-complaining about their parents on-camera A 5-ft 10-in black-haired extravert whose previous show-biz experience is nil. Pahopin suffered a twinge of self-doubt when first offered the job, but is now having a splendid time. "If I have to keep on doing five nights a week, I'll do it," he says. "But I don't want to take the spotlight from other tenants too much. Overexposure can be detrimental-look what hanpened to Milton Berle.

Apart from Andy's show, there is enough activity to keep T-T-V-6 Cameraman Amon Schneider, 16, fully occupied during the early evening hours. Patrolmen and firemen drop by one

night a week to lecture. An ASPCA representative will soon begin appearing on-camera to offer a "dog of the week" for adoption and give advice on nets. There will also be political debates.

For a time, Pahopin had hopes that Marion Young, a housewife with an English accent, would become the Parker Towers version of Rona Barrett and he initially introduced her as such. But Marion would have none of it. Instead, she specializes in engagement announcements, weddings and traveling tenants. A recent flash: "Welcome home, Flora Mae Birge, from your Caribbean cruise Too bad you couldn't take along your poodle to enjoy it with you." Marion explains that her husband objected to the Rona Barrett billing. Besides, she says, "I really didn't want to gossip and spread grief -we don't need someone to delve into each other's affairs.

When Pahopin and crew are not on the air, the camera is focused on a studio clock, and on dials and gauges connected to rooftop instruments that tell the wind velocity and direction and the temperature just outside Parker Towers. Occasionally, the camera is switched to focus on eards advertising the wares and services of local merchants, who can buy three months of spot commercials for \$1.50 (more than 40 have already signed on).

Little League. No Nielsen-like poll of the audience has been carried out since live programming began in early October, but an eleven-year-old resident named Ricky Neuhoff already has an index of his own. Planning an auction to raise money for muscular-dystrophy research, Ricky sat in a Parker Towers lobby one Sunday afternoon. "I asked all the people going in and out if they watched the station. he reported, "and I found out that 49% didn't and 51% did." Impressed by the viewership, he decided to advertise on T-T-V-6. But when Station Manager Hal Goldstein, 22, found out about the poll, he offered Ricky a guest spot to talk up the auction (which netted \$63.45).

T-T-V-6 reaches TV sets in the apartment complex through the master-antenna system. It was installed and is minitarized by a small firm named Ten-Tel-Vision, an offshoot of a firm called of the complex systems of the complex syst

In that spirit, T-T-V-6 plans to add to its reperfory soon such neighborly shows as Little League ball games and other sports events conducted on nearby playgrounds and reports on community activities. Eventually it will also show first-run films, for which subscribers will pay an extra charge, and—if Hoxt Andy Pathopin has his way—a special featuring a belly dancer.

Up in Arms

Denn GERMINSER IS one of the few designers to see the furny, side of lashion. The topless bathing suit was a typical Germeichian prank—and it drew plenty of publicity. When he unveiled his spring line in New York City last week, Germeich brought the house down with a four-deved dress It was a takeoff on the old—and newly fashower the shoulders and rewly fashover the shoulders and trying the sleeves loosely round the neck. On the Germrich number, only the sweater sleeves exist; sewed to the shoulders of the dress, they can be tied stylishly in front.





Spare Clarity

Wahi is one of the key ideas in traditional Japanese culture. It has to do with spareness, poverty and austerity. A teahouse, made of bare, unlacquered wood, with its straw thatch and river stones, displays wahi. Wahi is the rough. salty irregularity of a classical tea bowl. the plain twig in a flower arrangement. the coarse black cotton of a kimono. Its meaning extends beyond the sphere of aesthetics into a more general discipline: it suggests an uncluttered and precisely lived life in which the individual is brought into a clear relationship with nature and with his society. No matter how sumptuous or even exclusive they may be, the masterpieces of traditional Japan stake their existence on this perfect clarity of image and technique. Such is the lesson of two fall exhibitions of Japanese art, seen at its utmost pitch of refinement. One is a selection of 235 works of the Rimpa school-scrolls, screens and lacquer-at the Tokyo National Museum, the other a show of inros, netsukes and sword guards from the Charles A. Greenfield collection at Manhattan's Japan House.

Boneless Brush. The word Rimpa means, literally, "school of precious Though the Rimpa school gems. spanned 250 years and produced some of the finest decorative art Japan-or the world at large-has seen, its members were few and their identity often vague. Its founder was Hon'ami Koetsu (1558-1637). In 1615, a warlord gave Koetsu some land in the mountains around Kyoto. The artist laid out a village there: papermakers, dyers, weavers, calligraphers, lacquer masters and painters settled in it, with Koetsu presiding over them all. The collaborations that followed make it excruciatingly hard to determine which artist did what painting: Koetsu's style is almost indistinguishable from the early manner of his pupil Sotatsu.

Koetsu and Sotatsu reacted against the hard, linear, brushpoint drawing derived from the Chinese that dominated Japanese art in the early 17th century: instead they used the mokkotsu or technique, dropping pigment into wet pigment, staining and mottling the shapes of flowers, twigs and thunder-god with infinitely subtle gradations of color, preparing the paper with washes of gold or silver dust or with a snowy, elistening mixture of eggshell white and flakes of mica. These hallmarks-which must in their time have seemed very "Japanese," in elaborate contrast to the austerities of Chinese brush technique-helped form the Rimpa style, and were superbly developed by Ogata Korin, born a century after Koetsu. A part of Korin's signature (see calligraph) is now used as the symbol for the Rimpa style.

Korin, it seems, was one of those exquisitely chic and talented spendthrifts whom the Japanese remember with fond envy. The son of a wealthy artistmerchant in Kyoto, he dissipated a fortune by such gestures as wrapping his box lunch for a cherry blossom-viewing picnic in costly gold-leafed and painted bamboo sheaths, then nonchalantly flinging them away into the river. But he was no dilettante. Korin's work embraced most mediums, even the decoration of plates, on which he collaborated with his brother Ogata Kenzan to produce works like the hexagonal iron-brown dish bearing a figure of Juro. the dumpy little god of longevity. Korin had an almost miraculous sense of materials; witness his writing box, with a design of irises, pool and bridge. The iris leaves and stems are gold lacquer, the flowers mother-of-pearl inlay, the bridge columns are rendered in silver while the planks, which run diagonally



across the lid and down the sides, are dull inlaid lead. What Renaissance casket would not look fussy and florid beside this container? But it was in painting that Korin's virtuosity showed; especially in his screen Red and White Plum Trees. It is to Japanese decoration what Matisse's Red Studio is to modern decorative art.

Elegance, For Korin used traditional motifs: the S curve of the river. for instance, and its stylized scrolls of water, refer back to 16th century Momovama screens. Yet he infused these motifs with a new, tense elegance. The line of the white plum branch, dipping down and then shooting up off the top of the screen, is electric. The river, boldly placed to unify the two separate screens, swirls with energy. Indeed, later artists bestowed his name on this way of painting water. "Korin waves" recur in a long screen of gray cranes by Suzuki Kiitsu (1796-1858). A copy of a Korin (now in the Freer Gallery), Kiitsu's frieze of birds, with their dipping beaks and stilted legs, is a distillation of variety in unity. Sakai Hoitsu's (1761-1828) screen of Thirty-Six Immortal Poets is virtually a compendium of Rimpa techniques and virtues: the sprightly drawing of flower and tendril: the formal presentation of each poet in a separate cartouche, as in a print. In his more realistic vein, as in a screen de-

picting Flowering Plants of Summer. Hoitsu possessed epigrammatic powers of observation: the fronds bend and bow under the summer rain, weaving a deliicate lattice of green against the now tarnished silver ground.

With the Greenfield collection at Japan House, scale and focus change: it is a triumph of the small. "Intimacy" here is more than a catchword. for nearly every item in this array—reputedly the best private collection of its kind, in the world—was designed to its kind, in the world—was designed to catchie subletics are lost behind glass. The largest are Suszuribadeo or writing boxes: a 16th century case with a goldlacquer hare, or Kinyosai's delicately humorous image of a lady spuring ink from her mouth onto a wall to form the characters for "perseverance

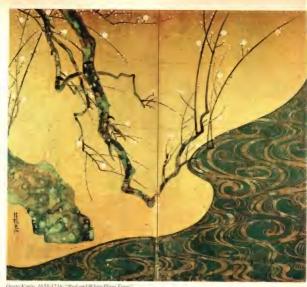
Carved Toggles. Often in the West, miniatures compel the worthless gawking one reserves for Last-Suppercarved-on-a-peach-stone kitsch. Not in Japan, where the image and the scale were one-partly by a happy fluke of social pressure. The Imperial sumptuary laws forbade merchants and samurai to wear excessively rich garments, so male vanity expressed itself in three special kinds of objects: inros, the tiny compartmented cases for carrying seals, or later medicine: netsukes, the carved toggles that fastened the inros to one's sash; and craft lavished on these small things almost surpasses belief. So, often, does their sculptural quality: witness Issan's tiny, writhing red dragon netsuke. To complete his inro bearing the motif of a Chinese ship, Ritsuo (1663-1747) had to apply some 80 coats of lacquer-the dangerously toxic sap from a Japanese relative of poison ivy. Lacquer is slow drying; it had to be left for days or even weeks between coats, and laboriously burnished with charcoal and powdered deer horn. To examine these objects is to realize how vast a language of craft has been lost to Japan, and to the world.

since the 19th century The instinct for design required a counterpoint between the case and its toggle (usually made by different artists). Over the centuries, most inros have lost their netsukes, and one of the delights of the Greenfield collection is the care with which appropriate matching has been restored. Thus a war helmet and mask on Koma Kyuhaku's 18th century inro are complemented by a fierce little demon mask with ivory horns. In a sense, the extreme limit of aestheticization was reached by the makers of tsubas. Considered merely as an object, the 19th century sword guard of the blue-black copper alloy known as shakudo, inlaid with gold maple leaves (the gold patchy, as in autumn), is sumptuous enough. But the idea of dying with so delicate a work of art attached to one's stomach by two feet of razor-sharp steel could only have arisen in Edo Japan. Robert Hughes



Below left: lacquer writing case by Kinyisai, early 18th century. Below right: unsigned lacquer writing case, 16th century

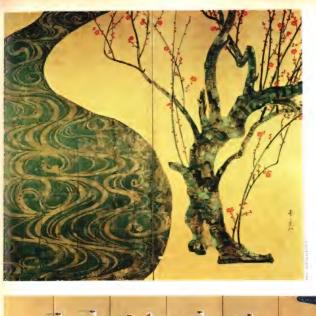




Ogata Korin, 1658-1716: "Red and White Plum Trees"



Suzuki Kitsu, 1796-1858: "Cranes"







Ogata brothers' dish (ca. 1700)



Sakai Hotsu, 1761-1828. detail from "Thirty-Six Immortal Poets"



Dragon netsuke by Issan. 18th century



Sakai Hoitsu "Flowering Plants of Summer"

MUSIC

Vaudeville Rock

Whither rock? If the salad days of Dylan, the Beatles and their near peers constituted its high renaissance, rock music has now evolved into a florid and self-conscious rococo period, which is also, sad to say, often decadent. Once the sound was what mattered most rhapsodizing players would even turn their backs on the audience, and "performance" was almost a dirty word. Now the show is everything A few rock groups share the evening with stand-up comedians or clowns and trapeze artists to liven up their act. Some musicians wear mime makeup and practice ersatz Marcel Marceau. Others appear in full drag-flowing scarves, highheeled wedgies, false cyclashes, mascara. lipstick and cheek-clinging glitter. With the revolt long since gone out of the music, what is left is really a new kind of vaudeville or sometimes a freak show-occasionally first-rate, frequently diverting, but too often merely repulsive. Items:

· Alice Cooper is the name of both the leader and the group that have climbed to infamy as the chief practitioners of what can only be called Grand Guignol rock. The discovery of Frank (Mothers of Invention) Zappa. Alice the group is a gaggle of allegedly straight males who started out by pretending to be transvestites. Now they are into horror and, as they describe it. the purging of the evil within the souls of their young fans. Alice the leader sometimes throws live chickens to the audience, axes dolls to death, carries a snake that sometimes works its way between his legs with phallic suggestiveness, wears a straitiacket, and in final mock penance has himself executed enther in a blinking electric chair or on a full-size gallows.

"Violence and sex sell." says Alice.
"That's our appeal. The audience knows
I'm parodying what they see every day
on television. We're the ultimate American band—the end product of an affluent society." Once in Muskeeon.

Mich., the offspring of that society tore Alice from the stage, ripping off his clothes and jewelry. Nursing a cut on his back. Alice chirped: "They're like piranha lish. I like an audience that's

Who is Alice the man? If Alice himself still knows, he is not talking. His real name is a closely guarded secret. probably to protect the reputation of his father, who is a Baptist minister in Arizona. What is known is that the singer is a wiry, bleary-looking ex-track star who once won a 26-mile marathon race. then keeled onto a street curb nose first. His still flattened nose is a constant reminder of that day, especially when he walks into a multimirrored bathroom of the 40-room mansion he owns in fashionable Greenwich, Conn. The mansion also sports swastika flags on many of the ceilings, as well as a mansize doll hanging by its neck in the ballroom. When concert tours and promotional appearances do not beckon. Alice can usually be found in his Greenwich "pad," curled up in an armchair with a six-pack of beer, seeking further inspiration from his TV set.

Alice's reputation, plus the group's music—a tigh hard-rook blend of unmerciful drumming, lush piano playing, defi guitar work and the leader's own Transylvanian vocal whine—have made \$1,000,000 sellers of their last three Warner Bros. LPs—Love It to Death, Killer and School's Out (a free pair of bikini panties is included with that album).

• Road Stewart is one of the two or three fines and most popular of the current crop of English pop composer-singers, as well-well-wheel popular who neatly counterpoints Wick Jaggets who neatly counterpoints Wick Jaggets who neatly counterpoints Wick Jaggets who provided the composition of the counterpoints who provided the counterpoints who was a high for the deal of the counterpoints of the rapps, surcharged cross between Joe Cocker and Road McKuen—that is instantly recognizable and that can draw stantly recognizable and that can draw wown songs (Maugiet Mus. Fever Piewar songs (Maugiet Mus. Fever Pieter Fells & Scray) awell as standards by Dylan (Only * Hoho) and Elton John (Country Contort) As a some-time member of the good-time British rock-in-roll band known as Faces, he is one superstar who is out mostly to have fun. That includes gring a humorous zing to his guitar playing, handing bottles of swine to tackly members of the property of the prope

Stewart and the Faces recently made two US tours with a company of acrobats, clowns and trapeze artists, billed as the World's First Rock and Roll Cyrcus. Among other acts, Cyrcus included the Martinez Flyers, who missed their double flips on purpose, and Ming Wong, who stripped off 15 kimonos while hanging 100 ft, above the

floor by her hair Dr. John, the Night Tripper, high priest of voodoo rock, whose music is often cerily grisly and whose personal appearances are usually heralded by the lighting of torches and a processional of undulating dancers. His gaudy, African-style headdresses are woven out of ostrich feathers, vines, ivy and snakeskins. Dr. John's music is a pulsating blend of African and Caribbean rhythms and dry-throated incantations. As it turns out, Dr. John comes from New Orleans, and his latest ATCO LP, Gumbo, is a personal nostalgia trip, a rollicking pastiche of voodoo, rumba. Dixieland and good old Mardi Gras stomp. If his high skill shows the inventive, assimilative style of a virtuoso studio musician, it is because Dr. John used to be just that under his real name,

▶ Cheech and Chong are the Amos in Andy of Rock, even if one is of Mex-

DAVID BOWIE AT CARNEGIE HALL

Mac Rebennack



DR. JOHN IN PUERTO RICO





ican heritage and the other Chinese. Stand-up rock and droll is their game. and each can assume a hundred different voices and roles in talking about the things that matter most to their young audience-marijuana, wine. cops. rock concerts, records and radio. One of the characters Cheech parodies is a rubberthroated disk jockey named Wink Dinkerson of station KRU1. Dinkerson's spiel is far-out and solid: "Hi there, groovy guys, groovy girls. Peace love dove peace bells, incense, light shows, crash pads, and Hare Krishna, all you groovy freaks." As president of the United Heads for Hemp, Chong begins a TV interview: "Some people say grass makes you lose your memory...Uh, wow. I forgot what I was gonna say." Cheech and Chong (real names Richard Marin, 26, Tommy Chong, 34) surfaced nationally a year ago. Wherever they give concerts. usually with one or two rock acts on the bill, the S.R.O. sign is out. A far cry from the days when, says Cheech, "the only comic relief in rock was when the public-address system went out.

David Bowie is a hugely gifted British singer-composer-guitarist who at once embodies and transcends the new vaudeville. Bowie boasts, in interviews and in songs, of his bisexuality, affects orange-hued hair, laced highheeled boots and moves in feline contrast to his heavy rock beat. At 25. he is an ex-actor and mime who is currently on his first tour of the U.S. It began with a surprise sellout in Cleveland. Then came an overwhelming success in Manhattan's Carnegie Hall. where Bowie, in a British music-hall voice, parodied Andy Warhol, sang about the bisexual life (Width of a Cir-(le) and invoked rock's new vogue for

Bowie looks like an extra directly out of A Clockwork Orange-an effect heightened intentionally at the start of each concert by the use of white, jabbing strobe lights and the playing of the electronic version of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony from the sound track of the Stanley Kubrick film. If Kubrick posed the threat of futuristic shock, so does Bowie, His recent RCA album, The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars, is perhaps the most portentous concept LP since the Beatles' Sgt. Pepper. It anticipates a cataclysm of worldwide proportions that could be World War III, pollution overkill or an invasion from outer space. Bowie is not very clear on the subject, and it does not really matter, since the cataclysm is in effect a megaton metaphor for the confusion and pessimism Bowie sees in much of the rock world today. Ziggy Stardust also chronicles the rise and eventual assassination of a rock-'n'roller who is partly Dylan, Jagger, Stewart and Alice Cooper, but mostly Bowie. "I know that one day a big artist is going to get killed on stage, and I keep thinking that it's bound to be me," says

Bowie, with a Grand Guignol touch of

Silent Decisions

When the Supreme Court begin is inwe term, one of its traditional opening tasks is to dispose of cases on which
it does not want to bear full arguments
One incredible day earlier this month,
time record, and halfway through the
month it had dealt with \$24.5 such is its
position, however, that even when the
court rules summarily or refuses to hear
a case, observer, often try to read anstons. Among the most inderesting of
such rulings last week:

▶ Does a woman have a right to an abortion? Twice this year. Connecticut laws against abortion have been reject-

KISLEY AT HIS MASSAGE PARLOR A charge of sex bias.

ed in a federal court. But the Justices stayed the latest ruling against the law, pending their own decession and the same pending their own decession. The same states were statest that the seemed to imply an anti-abortion yelony, court-watchers are convinced that the Justices will eventually declarated that the Justices will eventually declarated the same states of the same states will be sufficient to the same states of the same states will be sufficient to the same states of the same states will result in prosecution.

 for enemy goods could indeed be applied to propaganda material, though it must be fairly administered. The Supreme Court decided not to interfere. The material thus remains impounded by customs.

▶ Is it discriminatory to han womner memory men in massage purloars So arqued Robert Kisley, who has loars So arqued Robert Kisley, who has proposed to the proposition of Figure 12, according to Kisley, violates the equal hy a member of the oppositions, which according to Kisley, violates the equal ment and the 1994 CsGHR Igiphs Act banning sex discrimination. The court declined to consider the matter. The next day police raided one of Kisley's places in the opposite sex—see the massage in the proposite sex—see the in massage in the proposite sex—see the massage in the proposite sex—see the massage.

Gothic Tale

Stanley Berent was born with his armless hands growing directly out of his shoulders, and he is known, in the cruel world of the carnival, as "Sealo the Sealboy." Norbert P. Terhune is a dwarf, 3 ft. 6 in. tall, billed as "Poo-Bah the Pygmy." Both of them worked for World Fair Freaks and Attractions. a sideshow that toured various Southern county fairs. In the summer of 1969 World Fair was preparing to open in North Bay Village, near Miami, when the local police threatened to prosecute under a 1921 state law against freak shows, which calls for up to a \$1,000 fine or a year in jail. Freak shows have been in a long de-

cline-there are only five such shows

of any size left-but a number of states

still have laws designed to protect citizens from displays of deformity and to protect the deformed themselves from exploitation. Berent and Terhune were not grateful. Along with World Fair, they went to the Florida Supreme Court to argue that the state was interfering with their right to make a living: neither, despite their normal intelligence, had been able to find any other job. By a 6-to-1 vote, the court found: It may be that certain malformations. perhaps those relating to private areas of the body or some which may be repulsive or vulgar in nature, would so affect the morals and general welfare as to lend themselves to a prohibition." But this was not so, said the court, in the case of a dwarf and a "sealboy." claring the law unconstitutionally broad and imprecise, Justice Hal Dekle ruled that "one who is handicapped must be allowed a reasonable chance within his capacities to earn a livelihood." For Terhune, 46, who was appearing last

week in Beaumont, Texas, this meant

he could work again without harass-

ment in Florida. But Berent, the seal-

boy, retired last year at the age of 70.

After I realized my Skinny Mini was skinnier than I was, I lost 75 pounds.



I was a whopping two feet, two inches wide hip-wise. And my Frigidaire Skinny Mini was only two feet wide

vo feet wide.

So, not surpnsingly, my day of fate came as I as standing in front of my Skinny Mini. loading the absher with dirty clothes, and the dyer with just ashed clothes.

Mary Ellen, my little three-year-old, asked, dommy, where is the stinnie-nionle? Shecoulder the Skinny Mini behind me.

It's that small Even though it is got a cospect who cycle washer. With four cospect two-cycle washer. With four lash and fines temperature combinations.

nd a Flo-Through Lint Filter And my 120-volt Skinny Mini runs on normal

The dryer even has a two-position fabric plector for all kinds of clothes, both heat and on-heat air fluff settings; it stops when the clothes e dry and buzzes to let me know it's stopped. And oth the washer and dryer have Permanent Press relief.

les!
All this and more, and it was skinnier than me.
Skinny Mini controls right in the eye. I
think! I made it happy because I didn!
overshadow it anymore.



Every Frigidaire is not a refrigerator.

How Paul Baron's \$150 burglar alarm sold out for a 19^c marrow bone.

When Paul Baron bought his \$50,000 Carmel dream house, he figured \$150 was plenty to pay for a burglar alarm. After all, his burglar alarm had large teeth and a weakness for strangers' ankles. Unfortunately, he also had a weakness for marrow bones.

Because the night of May 15th, when some burglars threw him one, he let them carry off everything but the revolving waterbed.

The point if you have something to protect.

The point, if you have something to protect, is: beware of bargain basement burglar alarms. Especially ones that like marrow bones. At ADT, 98 years' experience have taught us that no one

alarm device will foil a determined burglar. Not a guard dog. Not a buzzer. Not a "little black box" hooked up to police headquarters.

This is why we select a precise combination of devices (from the world's largest inventory) for every job we install. Why we custom-tailor our system to a family's way of life. And why we maintain more Central Alarm Stations, which can send help at a minute's notice, than anyone else in the business.

This isn't the cheapest way to prevent burglary and fire. But we've found it's the best. (It better be—we protect the U.S. Treasury, the Smithsonian and Cartier's.) And you might be surprised to learn

that we'll protect your home and family for as little as \$500.

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Our address is ADT, 155 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10013.
Our business is peace of mind. It's our only business, so when you get in touch you'll get our full attention.

No bones about it.

The Security Company

Who's for Whom

Most U.S. newspapers are owned by Republicans, and the majority of publishers remain G.O.P. lovalists on their editorial pages. But not since the trade weekly Editor & Publisher started keeping track 40 years ago has a Republican presidential candidate enjoyed such an overwhelming edge in endorsements as Richard Nixon does this year. By the beginning of October, reported F & P. 548 dailies with combined circulation of 17.5 million had come out for Nixon's re-election, while only 38 with 1.4 million circulation had backed George McGovern. The trend was continuing last week, and Nixon is certain of a much bigger editorial edge than in 1968, when he was favored by 634 dailies (circ. 34.5 million) to 146 (circ. 9.5 million) for Hubert Humphrey

In the traditionally Democratic South, McGovern is taking a particularly bad beating. Even the Abilene (Texas) Reporter News has endorsed Nixon, the first time it has gone for a Republican in 91 years The only Southern papers of any size to opt for Mc-Govern so far are Little Rock's Arkansas Gazette and Louisville's Courier-Journal, Elsewhere, Nixon enjoys a solid majority of editorial votes in the Midwest and a virtual stranglehold on the West Coast. In New England, the sole prominent daily to declare for Mc-Govern to date is the Pittsfield (Mass.) Berkshire Eagle (circ. 30,519).

Serious Ouestion. Among major papers that amonumed their choices last week, the Philadelphia Inquirer and Los Angeles Times came out for Nison McGovern, and the Times, as weaked property of the mation's place in the world. But the St. Louis Post-Disquide expressed its diseasent, saying that McGovern "offers a philosophy of decentry of the propers of the property of the p

LIII, one of the few magazines that formally endorses candidates, declares for Nixon in its current issue. The editorial says: "The Nixon Administration, despite its one glaring failure in foreign policy-the long stay in Viet Nam for less and less-and despite some sizable shortcomings in domestic policy, does have an impressive record of accomplishment." LIFE credits Me-Govern with "admirable qualities of compassion and courage," but concludes: "Some of his statements on foreign policy and defense have sounded either uninformed or frighteningly naive. Most damaging of all, his indecisiveness and his impulsive rhetoric have raised a serious question as to his personal capacity to handle the responsi-

Black Perspective

In the beginning there were Ehony. Jet and Tan. magazines published by John H. Johnson to reflect and shape the aspirations of America's black middle and working classes. More recently, expanding racial consciousness -and the acknowledgment that blacks are now an upwardly mobile advertising target-have produced such magazines as Essence, Black Sports, Black Enterprise, Black Theater and Black Scholur. each keyed to special interests. Even black male chauvinists and swingers have something to look forward to: Foxtrapper, a black version of Playboy due out in the near future. With a score of national magazines now addressing the black audience, what terrain remains to be covered?

Volunteer Copy. The answer is now being published as Eneror. designed to be a news monthly for blacks. More precisely, says (fatior tal a Lewis. Eneror is a 'magazim not just of some the same to be a new section of the world reported from a black perspective. The title was chosen, she says, to denote "a lutter interpretation and a hearing again of the news in terms of the needs of black people." An arthitic the needs of black people. An arthitic the needs of black people. An arthitic that Eneror may be succeeding.

Lewis is an experienced journalist.

whose work has appeared in LIFE. L'Express and the Washington Post Ousted from the editor's chair at Essence during an intramural feud last winter, she raised \$40,000 and volunteer manuscripts from friends, and brought out an inaugural issue of Encore in May. Among the unconventional contents: a debate between Black Poet Nikki Giovanni and Soviet Poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko over possible racist resonances in the term "Black Power"; an interview with Chinese Author-Physician Han Suvin on Women's Lib in Mao's Cultural Revolution; and an "Encore Document" (now a regular (eature) entitled "America: Neither Black Nor White," which included essays by George McGovern and black. Puerto Rican, Chicano, and American Indian spokesmen.

Encore began monthly publication in September and, with an exclusive story on discontent among West Indian British soldiers stationed in Northern Ireland, introduced amounts of firsthand foreign coverage. The October issue devotes considerable space to original reports from China, Haiti and the French Antilles, "Encore has a broad international perspective." says Senior Editor Robert C. Maynard. "The borders of our world do not stop at 125th Street or even at the oceans " Coverage of domestic affairs includes sections on law, medicine, fashions, architecture, television, cinema, art and books.

The audience is envisioned as educated and affluent; the voice is sophisticated, managing to tread the line between stridency and complacency. advocacy and disinterest. "It's given that we're black." Lewis says, "so we don't have to shout it from the housetops." Occasionally the balance totters A brief summary of the life of Haitian Leader Henri Christophe is hagiography, not history; a story captioned Racism in the White House" rehashes familiar material and lapses into a truculence at odds with the magazine's generally judicious tone ("Garfield was perhaps the only nonracist President in the history of the United States").

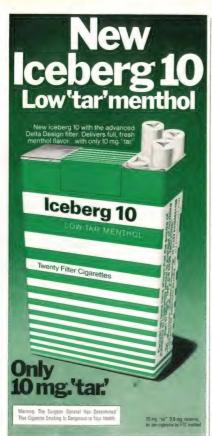
Encore's approach has attracted the part-time services of such skilled black journalists as Maynard, a 1965 Nieman Fellow who is soon to become associ-



"ENCORE'S" LEWIS WITH POET GIOVANNI All in the family.

are editor and ombulsman for the Washington Prox, and New York, Jimes Reporter Earl Caldwell, a principal in the Supreme Court decision on the sub-poenaing of newsmen (TIME, Oct. 16). Executive Editor Owen Wilkerson. 29. a veteran of the now defunct Newary Executive Editor Cowen Wilkerson. 39. as veteran of the now defunct Newary Executive Editor, excalls the firstantions he met in the white press. When he once mentioned Harrier Tubman in a story, has white editor thought that the pre-critical via underground railroad heroine Critical Via underground railroad heroine. However, we have the control of the property of

There has also been a measure of reader enthusiasm. Press runs of 75,000 for the first two issues sold out in major cities and netted 4,000 charter subscriptions. The magazine has attacted some national advertisers and Lewis expects the break-even point to come by early next year. Meanwhile, Encore has been getting by with credit. a bank loan and low overhead, Lewis



THE PRESS

views the proliferation of black magazines as a healthy sign and is confident that Encore will supplement—not compete with—the others. Says she: "We're all part of the same family."

Short Takes

> On the Sound and On the Shore have been on the rocks. A pair of slick leisure monthlies catering to those who live near Long Island Sound and Delaware and Chesapeake bays, they were foundering for lack of financing. Happily, the crisis was only temporary Editor Roy Rowan announced last week that Universal Publishing and Distributing Corp. (Family Handyman. Natural Gardening) will take over the two magazines, pump more than \$1,000,000 into circulation promotion. and revive On the Sound (circ. \$0.000) in December, after a two-month recess On the Shore (circ. 25,000) will resume publication later.

▶ Only 14 months ago. James W. Brady took his reputation for brass and innovation from Women's Wear Daily to Harper's Bazuar. He soon won the titles of publisher and editorial director and set out to shake the frilly fashion monthly to its lingerie. Brady replaced conventional models with recognizable people posing against busy street backgrounds to show how fashions would look outside the salon. Trouble was that this approach merely irritated many women readers who wanted to get a straight, uncluttered look at the clothes. He brought a daily newspaper's intensity to Buzuar's leisured shop and introduced a gossipy, current news-fashion section. Serious nonfiction received more space than before. Circulation (409,000) remained static, and advertising continued to slide (off 80) pages for the first ten months of this year) Last week the parent Hearst Corp. abruptly gave up on Brady and named two executives from its other magazines to replace him. Advertising Director Thomas Losee Jr. of House Beautiful became Bazaar's publisher, and Anthony Mazzola, editor in chief of Town & Country, moved in as editorial boss. The prospect is for a return to more traditional couture coverage. Brady, 43 and unemployed, took off still insisting he knows it all. Advertising is about to rise, he insisted, and his approach represents "the fashion magazine of the future, immensely superior to the pious essays, second-rate poetry and bad fiction of many women's books

Nothing so useless as yesterday? newspaper? The Minneapolis Star is running full-page house ads declaring that "the Star will work on your yard." Lay the paper flat and anchor it, the advises, for crossion control Or use it as a compost-pit liner. "It is good to have woody material like newsprint decomposing in your soil." Moreover, says the Star. "newsprint dis 'like dessert. The ink contains valuable trace min-rais in the seaweed-derived binder."



CARDINAL KROL (CENTER, HOLDING CROSIER) DURING VISIT TO AUSCHWITZ

RELIGION

Pilgrim in Poland

Some came on foot from the surrounding villages, carrying crosses and banners emblazoned with the names of their parishes. Others arrived in packed buses and trains. At least 150,000 strong, they pushed shoulder to shoulder past the rusty barbed-wire fences into the Auschwitz Birkenau extermination camp, where 4,000,000 died during the Nazi hell. The pilgrims had come to honor one of those dead, a Franciscan friar named Maximilian Kolbe who had stepped forward one day in 1941 to take the place of a family man selected for execution.

Kolbe was put in a starvation cell with nine others, then finally dispatched on Aug. 14, 1941 with an injection of phenol. Just a year ago, in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, Pope Paul VI had declared him "Blessed," the most important single step in creating a saint. Last week's celebration in Poland marked the first anniversary of Kolbe's beatification, and the man he had saved -bent, white-haired Franciszek Gajowniczek, 69-was among the first to speak. "I want to express my thanks. he said haltingly, "for the gift of life."

Brass-Band Welcome, Shortly afterward came a memorial Roman Catholic Mass. The principal celebrant, a graying, robust man whose lean, lined face seemed at home in the crowd of Polish worshipers, was John Cardinal Krol. Archbishop of Philadelphia. Krol's father had come from Poland. and the cardinal won the crowd immediately by addressing them in flu-ent, if accented Polish, "I was never a ent, if accented Polish. prisoner in a concentration camp," he said. "I was never captured or exiled. I never suffered Ivourl scourges. I bow my head.

Four other cardinals joined Krol as pilgrims to the Kolbe memorial at Auschwitz, including Poland's Primate Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, and John Cardinal Wright-the only other American cardinal, besides Krol, ever to enter Communist Poland. But it was Krol's visit that became the gala pilgrim's progress. When he arrived in his late father's home village of Siekierczyna, Krol was greeted by several dozen horsemen in the 17th century uniforms of Polish cavalry, who led him grandly to a brass-band welcome amid throngs of cheering villagers. After Mass in the village church, the cardinal welcomed

at least 50 relatives in the parish house Krol's visit was more than an oldhome week for a Polish-American cardinal. In 1966, when Poland celebrated its 1,000th anniversary, both Krol and Pope Paul VI were denied permission to visit the country. Krol's welcome now is just one sign of a thaw between Poland's overnment and the Roman Catholic Church. On two fronts, those relations seem to be getting better. Last summer the Vatican appointed six longtime Polish administrators as the regular bishops of dioceses in former German territories, thus recognizing the Oder-Neisse line that West Germany had acknowledged in its 1971 treaty with Poland. On the home front. Party Chief Edward Gierek has accommodated the hierarchy by abolishing a law requiring bishops to keep inventories of all church assets, and by returning churches and convents in the former German territories to church ownership.

Cardinal Wyszynski-whom Krol has invited to visit the U.S.-is still not happy with the building permits that he has been able to scratch up from the authorities for new churches. Only 37 are currently authorized, though some Polish parishes must run Masses all day long on Sundays to accommodate the crowds. An invitation to Pope Paul VI to visit Poland seems still some distance in the future, since it could embarrass the government by revealing the strength of Polish Catholicism.

New Rabbis for Israel

The two chief rabbis of Israel are among the most powerful men in that country-and indeed in world Judaism One is the spiritual leader for Israel's Ashkenazic Jews, the other the religious master of the nation's Sephardic Jews.* Each is entrusted with the complex and often controversial task of ruling on Halakhah-Jewish religious law -for his people. In Israel, where rabbinical authorities totally control such matters as marriage and divorce for Jews and influence their behavior in many phases of public life, the rulings are often critical to the very functioning of society. Last week the two elderly incumbents in the offices, one 86, the other 76, were voted out of office and two new rabbis elected by a special Israeli electoral college

Chosen to head Israel's Ashkenazic Jews was Shlomo Goren, 54, former chief of army chaplains and Ashkenazic chief rabbi of Tel Aviv. New leader of Israel's Sephardic Jews is the Sephardic chief rabbi of Tel Aviv. scholarly. Baghdad-born Ovadia Yosef, 52.

Both Goren and Yosef enjoy wide popularity, partly because they are both more Israeli in outlook than their predecessors. Goren won some of his fame as a flamboyant warrior rabbi who doggedly earned his paratroop wings after breaking his leg in his first jump. Dur-ing the Six-Day War, he made a point of trying to be first wherever he went

*Ashkenazic Jews, who take their name from it medieval. Hebrew word for Germany, spre-throughout Europe and to the Americas. Sepha dic Jews came out of medieval Spain; early phardim arrivals in North America formed first Jewish communities in what is now the U

CHIEF RABBIS YOSEF & GOREN



The blackboard is obsolete.

For 500 years, teachers have been standing in front of their classes, writing with chalk on a blackboard.

Today's teacher has another

choice. She can drop a videocassette into a little machine.

Instantly, the lesson she wants to teach appears on a TV set in front of the class—in color,



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Learning by watching TV! It's a dream-come-true for our television-reared generation of vounasters.

It's a dream-come-true for our

teachers.

Because, until now, classroom TV hasn't been very flexible. With over-the-air programs whatever was on, was on.

If the teacher wanted to do Verb Endings, but that mornings program was on Vowel Sounds

-too bad

The Sony U-matic Videocassette System lets her decide.

What should be watched. And when. And how often. And

by whom.

That works right in with the trend to "open classrooms" small groups within each class learning at their own levels.

What equipment is needed? Aside from a TV set—any TV set iust a U-matic Videocassette

machine.

You plug it into the TV set. Drop a book-sized cassette into the machine. And the program's on. The videocassettes can be

bought or rented from dozens of educational distributors.

Already there are thousands of titles—from Mother Goose to Sex Education

Most exciting of all, the machine can record your own program—like a science show or a school play—on a blank videocassette.

You use an inexpensive TV camera, and you can play the cassette back immediately.

Like books (and unlike educational broadcasts) cassettes can be stored for reference.

Like books, they can be sent

through the mail.

Imagine what they can do for kids unable to attend classes.

For teacherless study in high

school and college.

For "correspondence courses" that are just like being there.

In a few years, perhaps, there'll be a U-matic in every living room. You'll walk in and see your kid

glued to the TV set.

You'll smile and tiptoe out. He's doing his Math homework.



color videocassette system



—to the Wailing Wall, for instance, where he sounded the shofar the traditional ram's horn). He is also admired as an astute scholar and consummate finder of Halakhah loopholes that more easily accommodate Orthodox observance to a technological world.

Youe's wide respect results partly from his editying family life (three of his eleven children are themselves rabs), mainly from an immense resultion that made him a rabbinical-court judge and the gase of 3.4 he is famous for being end, citing obscure Tallmudic judgments without any notes at all. Though streitly Orthodox, Yosef can hand down opinions that have a literalizing effect, as he did recently when he rated that slacks cettled that slacks cettled that the cettled him thinks for Iscael iarms with.

Driving Jeeps. The two men will need to heal a rift between religious and secular Israelis that has been exacerbated recently by sectarian disputes and narrow rabbinical vision. Religious control over marriage law has prompted some legislators to suggest a limited civil marriage law. Goren now asks that the bill's backers postpone introducing it for a year "to prove what we can do by way of sophisticated interpretation of the law to accommodate both religious and nonreligious Jews, "Perhans," says Goren, "we can create a whole new atmosphere and build a bridge of love between the two communities of the population." When he was chief rabbi of the army. Goren found a way for Orthodox soldiers to drive jeeps or operate equipment such as radar on the Sabbath by pointing out the soldier's compelling duty to preserve Israel's security. In a like vein, says Goren,"if it is essential [for an Orthodox policeman] to control traffic on the Sabbath, then the way must be found to do it within Halakhah

Some differences between secular and religious barels are likely to remain unresolved, however Both Goren and Yosed oppose the amended Law of Return, which considers all Jewish converts to be Jews. The new chief rabbis both insast that only Jews converted strictly according to Halakhab including a ritual bath for both men and strictly according to Halakhab including a ritual bath for both men and the property of the property o

Because most of the world's Jest (fully 84%) are Ashkenazim. It is cocren who will have the larger international following. His most ambitious project is to convoke a worldwide councid of rabbinical scholars, both Sephardie and Ashkenazie, to discuss basic isuse; 'in a spirit of understanding and friendship.' He has called upon Bostor's pre-emisent Talmudic scholar, provident of the control of the con-



It's the new Carousel custom Fi projector—handsomely styled with wood-grain panels and black finish. An attractive smoke-tinted dust lover snaps on when the show's over And it has a built in lens cover.

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ENVIRONMENT

Votes on Pollution

"Clear the air! clean the sky! wash the wind!" —T.S. Fliot

Those words, expressing the grief of the women of Caniterbury at the much der of their archibishop, resound a little incongruously in a 17 sport now being incongruously in a 17 sport now being the line of the little words with the little word

The clean-water act, which aims to end all water pollution by 1985, called for up to \$24.6 billion in spending over the next three years, mostly on sewage-treatment plants (TiME, Oct. 16). That is almost three times as much as the President wanted, and therefore, he worked, many over against his veto, he added, would be "a vote to increase the likelihood of higher taxes."

Whatever the merits of Nixon's argument-and environmentalists do sometimes tend to ignore the price of their proposals-the President had few supporters. His own environmental administrator, William D. Ruckelshaus, had pointed out that the money could he spent over several years and urged Nixon to approve the legislation. Congressional Democrats spoke vehemently. Senator Edmund Muskie saw the veto primarily as a gesture in support of industrial polluters, and Senator George McGovern said the Administration's whole record on pollution was one of "hypocritical platitudes coupled with spineless inaction." Within two hours of the veto message, the Senate overrode the President by a vote of 52 to 12, and the House followed suit by an overwhelming 247 to 23.

All in all, the President proposed 25 environmental measures but pressed hard for few of them, and apart from the water bill. Congress took relatively little final action. Most important:

TRANSPORTATION. Both the Administration and the Senate wanted to dip into the Highway Trust Fund, now accumulating at \$6 billion a year from gasoline taxes and other special levies. in order to help urban mass transportation. The House disapproved. After days of bargaining, the Senate-House conference committee reached a compromise-about \$7 billion for highways plus \$1 billion a year from general taxes for mass transit. House Republicans, apparently responding to Administration opposition to new tax burdens, scuttled that by calling for a quorum after most Congressmen had home. That meant, for the first time since the road-building program began in 1956, no new legislation at all for highway construction. In theory, highway funds will run out next spring, and the Congress will then be more amenable to opening up the Highway Trust Fund for mass transit.

NOSE POLUTION. Congress approved a bill giving the federal Environmental Protection Agency two years to set new standards for major noise sources like motor vehicles and construction equipment. After a separate nine-month study, the EPA will recommend new ari-craft- and airport-noise limits, which will be implemented by the Federal Aviation Administration. If signed by the President, the bill takes a giant step forward in the quest for quiet.



CHECKING ON CYANIDE VATS AT HANNECHE

That Awful Smell

More than a year ago, the burghers of Hannèche in eastern Belgium began complaining about "that awful smell" emanating from the rusty vats stored in an abandoned sugar-beet factory Cats died from it. Trees shed their leaves. Grass turned brown. One of the stored vats burst, and the stench, rather like the smell of decomposing rats. brought still more complaints from the village of Burdinne, six miles away, Only last month, finally, did the ministry of labor, which deals with environmental problems, get around to investigating. It found that the vats contained between 2,000 and 3,000 tons of potassium cyanide-theoretically enough to kill every person in Europe.

The poison, along with tons of other toxic wastes, had come from chemical plants all over Europe, partly because Belgium has extremely tolerant pollution laws, partly because the vilage of Hannéche (pop. 300) has a rather tolerant government. Specifically, Mayor Edouard Elias and his toom council had strate, an agreement with pany named Vebeks. Elias got a cent on the company board and Vebek ago to a license to dump wastes in the carrouns old factory the toom would seen to dump wastes in the carrouns old factory the toom would see the council of the council

Lethal Chemicals. Nonetheless, fearful Hannêche authorities refused to renew Vebeka's license, so Vebeka went out looking for new dumping grounds.

"I had to do something," says Van den

""" Bour Several big transports were on their waytreelve tens from West germany, 18 tons from SwitzerSo he joined with anotherBelgian firm and made new
arrangemens. In Hasself, for
example, he left, 50 tons of lethal chemicals in a sheet lost
Canal, which supplies, Autwerp with its drinking with its drinking with

"This case is a very serious one," declared Labor Minister Louis Major when he heard the details. "For several nights we couldn't sleep at the thought of the tons of cyanide at Hanneche we couldn't understand how such imports were smuggled into our dear country."

Belgium has plenty of laws designed to protect citizens from buying toxic products but none to control the disposal of toxic wastes. Van den Bogert and other entrepreneurs openly and legally took advantage of the situation to turn Belgium into

Europe's dump. Belgium even made a profit from all the business—confirmation of Premier Gaston Eyskens maxim that "prosperity is more important than the quality of life."

The Hanneche scandal changes all that. Belgium's Parliament is expected to act this week to outlaw any further dumping. At Hanneche, 50 specialists from the civil defense department. wearing rubber suits and gas masks. now are carefully examining and repacking some 10,000 drums of chemical wastes, many of which turn out to be labeled "concentrated orange juice." The poisons are to be transferred to the nuclear center of Mol, near Brussels, but scientists there do not have the means to get rid of the toxic stockpile either. The most likely solution: the poisons will eventually be dumped far out in the Atlantic. It is another place where

no laws prevent cheap disposal.



NOT EVEN A TENNESSEE WINTER changes the temperature of the limestone spring that runs from the cave in Jack Daniel's Hollow.

Our spring runs year 'round at exactly 56°. (Our ducks are glad of that.)

And it's completely iron free. Our 'stiller is particularly glad of that because iron is murderous to whiskey. That's why Jack Daniel started our distillery here over a century ago. And we've never seen fit to change anything Mr. Jack started. After a sip of our whiskey, we trust, you'll be glad of that.

CHARCOAL MELLOWED DROP

EAST-WEST TRADE

The Deals Are Coming

ONE of the diplomatic trophies that Richard Nixon had hoped to bring home from Moscow last spring was an agreement establishing the basis for vastly increased U.S.-Soviet trade, which the President firmly believes is a sine qua non for improved relations between the superpowers By the time the Kremlin talks had ended. however, both sides were still hung up on too many points of contention to issue more than a general statement of optimism Last week that optimism turned into something far more solid than words The U.S and the Soviet Union signed a comprehensive agreement setting up the terms for an exchange of commerce that could well reach the \$1 billion level annually by the end of the decade. The only thing that keeps the signing from appearing quite the historic occasion that it unquestionably was is the possibility of a new hang-up, this time in the U.S. Congress

As part of the deal, the Sovies agreed to settle their World War II Lend-Lease debts to the U.S. for \$722 million, to be paid an annual installments through the year 2001. The Administration claimed that the terms, which amount to only about 7e on the dollar for Moscow \$411, billion Lend-dollar for the Same program Perhaps—if the forfeiture of forfeitur

a quarter century's interest payments is not counted.

Other key points of the agreement.

• Mutual freatment of each other's goods as imports from "most-favored-nations," meaning that both countries must impose the lowest possible tariffs on the other's merchandise. The effect of such tariff treatment on Russian vod. ka in the U.S. for example, would be ucut albust 35 per quart from its result of the properties of the p

▶ Extension of commercial credit generally made available by each nation to its other trading partners. This provision would entitle Soviet trading monopolies to seek financing for their US purchases from the Governmentrum US Export-Import Bank US businessmen who make deals in Moscow can apply for similar services at the Soviet Forcing Trade Bank.

▶ Construction of an office-apartiment-hotel complex in each capital for use by permanent and visiting trade groups, Residently of the Soviet trade center in Washington of course will be government officials. The Russians will allow some private U.S. firms to set up branch offices in the U.S. complex in Moscow, but capitalism's physical presence in the Soviet Union will remain a very lonely outpost Before a company's officials can even be eranted office space, they must have already established their firm as an "active trading partner" with the Soviet Union, presumably by having engineered deals that were to Moscow's liking on business visits. The few that qualify can then set up a Moscow staff of only five Americans and import a single company car.

The President has the authority to execute on his own all parts of the trade agreement except one Most-favorednation status can be granted only by Congress, and therein hangs a potentially serious threat. No fewer than 76 Senators have gone on record as opposing MFN as long as Soviet officials continue trying to halt the swelling exodus of their Jewish citizens by charging exorbitant exit fees. The Soviets have pripower over the matter, and may be willing to loosen up on some restrictions in order to ensure clearance of the final cess to American technology. Indeed, on the day of the signing, for no apparent purpose other than to signal such a willingness. Moscow authorities granted special exit without any education tax to 59 Jewish families who normally would have had to ante up sevrepayments to gain it Secretary of State William Rogers said merely that the U.S. will continue to use "quiet diplomacy" in attempting to ease the plight of Russian Jews

Beyond the congressional shadow. trade between the U.S and Russia looks as if it will become a brisk, though hardly thriving business. Total purchases of both nations from each other, now running at a minuscule \$200 million annually, are expected to triple over the next three years, with the U.S. coming out considerably ahead on the balance of payments Commerce Secretary Peter G. Peterson, who signed the agreement with Soviet Trade Minister Nikolai S. Patolichey, said that the Russians are expected shortly to order \$60 million worth of earth-moving equipment for excavation of their huge new Kama River truck factory. At week's end, as if to signify that such business deals were already becoming routine, the Soviets signed a \$68 million order for pipe-laying equipment with Caterpillar



NIXON & PATOLICHEV (WITH INTERPRETER) DISCUSSING TRADE AGREEMENT
Capitalism's presence in Moscow will be a lonely outpost.

ANTITRUST

The Specter of I, B and M

In a final flurry of activity on the last business day of the Johnson Administration in 1969, the Justice Department initiated one of the most sweeping antitrust suits since the forced breakup of Standard Oil Co in 1911.

In it, the Government charged that In-

RUSINESS

ternational Business Machines Corpexercised such overwhelming power in the burgeoning data-processing field that genuine competition was impossible. The case has droned on fruitlessly since then; feederal prosecutors have been forced to stif through 27 million feeders and the processing field that the conference Last week, in response to a court order demanding that it spell out preceeds how IBM should be punished, the Government took a time-honored legal izg and asked for the ultimate. IBM, it sand, should be broken in too an outspecified number of "independent and

That drastic proposal, which would cause one of the biggest business divestitures in U.S. history, seemed to leave nearly everyone magnificently unmoved. A total breakup of the company, scoffed IBM Chairman T. Vincent Learson, "will never happen," IBM's lawyers accused the Justice Department of attempting to complicate and stall the case further by expanding its complaint beyond the company's domestic operations to include its fast-expanding international business as well. Even investors, after an initially skittish reaction that sent the company's stock tumbling 14 points, rallied behind Wall Street's perennial darling, IBM closed the week at 387, up eight points from its Monday opening.

Caution. In fact, there is ample reason to believe that the Government is not anxious to press its case in the near future. For one thing, IBM's hierarchy is an extremely well-connected lot. Thomas Watson, son of the founder and chairman of IBM's executive committee, is an active member of the Democrats for Nixon committee, and his brother Arthur is the President's Ambassador to France. The company's general counsel, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, happens to have been U.S. Attorney General under L.B.J. and the immediate predecessor of Ramsey Clark, who filed the suit now being fought.

Politics aside, the sheer size and complexity of IBM and the computer industry pose a formidable challenge to the Government's legal resources. One measure of the sums of money at stake in IBM: the total market value of the company's stock is about \$45 billion. which is only \$4 billion less than the value of all the stocks listed on the American Stock Exchange. The computer industry's enormously complicated leasing and shared-time arrangements its huge lines of software and peripherals, its exponentially advancing technology, all make legal accountability far more difficult than in older-line industries like oil or even chemicals. Moreover, any terms for final settlement that the Justice Department offers IBM will have to take into account their possible effect on such weighty national matters as the U.S. balance of payments and world scientific leadership As recently as three weeks ago. Justice Department Prosecutor Ray-

mond M. Carlson candidly admitted: "We're not ready for trial."

Not that IBM's day in court will be out off indefinitely. The central contention of the Government's case-that IBM dominates a giant industry as no other U.S. company does-is practically incontestable. The Justice Department estimates that some 70% of all revenues spent in the U.S. last year on general-purpose digital computers went to IBM, v. 8.1% to Honeywell Inc., its nearest competitor Last week's legal ploy left the Government maximum bargaining room for a later out-of-court settlement. It also may string out the litigation for several more years, forcing IBM to continue a growing policy of caution toward smaller competitors.

CORPORATIONS Hughes in Public

The prospectus that arrived at the Securities and Exchange Commission last week was illustrated with color pictures of dragon-teethed drilling bits -the applicant's main product. It might have been just one of dozens of similar documents submitted by firms before their stock can be sold to the public except for the name. The Hughes Tool Co., crown jewel of the Howard Hughes financial empire, was up for sale. Hughes inherited Toolco in 1924 at the age of 18 from his father, who had invented a triple-headed conical drilling bit that revolutionized the oildrilling business. The company became the cornerstone upon which the ambitious young Hughes built one of the

tious young Hughes built one of the largest private fortunes in the world. Now the Oil Tool Division, along with the Hughes Tool Co. name, will be offered to the public in 5.000,000 shares of common stock for a maximum

of \$28 a share, or a possible total of some \$140 million. The rest of Toolco's divisions will be massed under a new umbrella organization called the Summa Corp., presumably for the Latin word meaning highest. The billionaire-in-hiding, who is reportedly living in Managua, Nicaragua, was expectably silent on his reasons for the sale. Hughes' ex-Financial Adviser Noah Dietrich speculated that "he needs cash" to shore up his Nevada gambling interests and the Hughes Airwest airlines, both hard hit in the recession Hughes may also need a reserve against the pressure of several pending lawsuits. especially a \$145 million antitrust judgment awarded against him in favor of TWA, now on appeal to the Supreme Court In addition, Hughes is involved in multimillion-dollar damage suits brought by Dietrich and former Aide Robert Maheu. Maheu found himself "absolutely flabbergasted" by the Toolco sale, recalling that "selling Hughes Tool was the one thing Hughes said he would never do."

Hughes may need eash for a new venture rumoned to be in the offing. Last July, he bought 25% of the stock of Nicaraguan Artines, apparently with the intention of developing an international air-cargo enterprise from a buse in Managua. If so, the financial phantom may only be exchanging his longcoveted crown jewel for an old love, aviation.

Whatever his montrees, Hughes probably timed the sale shrewdly, After shrinking for the past few years, oil exploration is again on the rise, in large part-because of the gathering energy critical for the control of 1972 the Oil Tool Division showed profits of 9 million, on 135% over the same shown and the control of 1972 the Oil Tool Division showed profits of 9 million, on 135% over the same pre-share price of \$28 is as good at Hughes will ever be and to set again.





SALESMAN FIGURING IN CALIFORNIA



DISCOUNT SALE IN MANHATTAN

NEW PRODUCTS

Calculated Warfare

Since they were first introduced 14 months ago as a kind of executive toy. pocket calculators have amazed their own inventors by appealing to a wide range of consumers, including many whose most pressing known mathematical need is the totaling of bridge scores Originally marketed mostly by officeequipment firms, the electronic gadgets are now found in countless department stores, photo marts, gift shops and other mass retail outlets. No fewer than 50 U.S. firms have started making minicalculators, which perform the four standard mathematical functions instantaneously, yet are small enough to fit inside a man's suit-coat pocket. But lately manufacturers and retailers trying to cash in on the calculator craze have found themselves drawn into a price war that may leave some of the industry's pioneers in the minus column

The calculators are yet another consumer hand-me-down from the aerospace programs of the 1960s. The machine's brain is a tiny silicone chip coated with layers of metal oxide, and was originally developed for use in the guidance systems of missiles and spacecraft. The chip crams the calculating power of several thousand transistors into an amazingly tiny package, with the read-out of problems appearing on a digital lighting panel. Prices range from \$60 to \$425, depending on the number of digits a model can handle and its extra features. By far the most important of these is the presence of a "floating" decimal point that automatically appears in an answer at the proper location. Machines that carry such a device usually cost \$90 and up

The portable, battery-operated calculators have endless and obvious applications on the job. A Miami fruit grower carries his around to estimate the yields ripening in his apple and orange groves. a Maryland cartographer bought one to compute distance ratios. on his maps: a Horida-based jet pilot keeps his m the cockpit to reckon flight times. But the calculate receivement is a substantial to the comment of the c

Thin Profits, in a rush to tap the vast consumer market, manufacturers and retailers have slashed prices by awned; as \$100 per tim! Further success are expected after the Christmans, shopping season, some retailers estimate that by next summer the cheaper models will self to as little as \$35 to \$50. A price cui of that swe could clob-up to the control of the state of

Two such big suppliers. Texas Instruments and North American Rock-well. recently introduced their own min-calculator models Other gainst already in the field include Littin Industries and Hewlett-Packard As a result of such gathering competition, the stock prices of some of the smaller pioneers, notably Bowmar Instrument and Eldorado Fleetrodard Corp. have dropped, even though their current profits are actually climbing.

Additional competition is coming from Japan More than two dozen Japnese firms, including Canon, Sony, Hitachi and Panasonic, have started producing and exporting the small cal-Following the strategy that they used so successfully with transistor radios, the Japanese are trying to corner the market by lowering prices and accepting razor-thin profits on high volume But for once. American producers seem able to stand on their own feet. U.S -produced calculators are made on almost totally automated assembly lines, thus eliminating Japan's advantage of cheaper labor.

MARKETING

Nutrition by Numbers "The more you know about green

beans the hetter for Del Monte." Tunbe to emmercial of one of the nations. largest canning companies. Now Del Monte will tell U.S. consumers a good deal more than simply how it picks in bear. The company has become the first commercial canner to adopt the fisco and Drug Administration's proposed voluntary guidelines for listing on a can's label the nutritional value of its contents. Beginning next summer. Del Monte's 34 heacting products will be one count and a profile of vitamine and minerals from A to riboliavain.

Nutrition labeling can turn into a numbers game Food manufacturers pump some cereals and even cupcakes full of vitamins, without mentioning that they still contain as much as 45% sugar. But Del Monte's new labels will be helpful to shoppers wishing to plan balanced meals. Those who consume mainly starchy vegetables like peas and beets, for example, can substitute more spinach and asparagus after a little common sense comparison of carbohydrate counts, Says Dr. Michael F. Jacobson, quire some maturity on the part of consumers to accept the fact that every food should not have to contain every vitamin and mineral." Del Monte Group Vice President James Schmuck agrees, saving that "the most important niece of information on the label may be: 'For good nutrition, eat a variety of foods Schmuck adds that Del Monte's decision to use the new labels was based on solid market research indicating that customers want nutritional

DEL MONTE LABEL SHOWING FOOD VALUES



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DIST --- DI --- III





N the pantheon of virtues that made the chic. As Richard Nixon defined it in a nationwide radio address: The work ethic holds that labor is good in itself: that a man or woman at work not only makes a contribution to his fellow man but becomes a better person by virtue of the act of working." Lately the President has so often mentioned the work ethic-and so often suggested that it may be endangered-that its veneration and preservation have become something of a campaign issue. The President warns ominously: "We are faced with a choice between the work ethic that built this nation's character-and the new welfare ethic that could cause the American char-

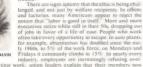
IN the pantheon of virtues that made the U.S. great,

Is the Work Ethic Going Out of Style?

In Nixon's implied demonology, the man who stands for "the welfare ethic" is George McGovern.

Candidate McGovern briefly proposed that, as a substitute for some existing federal assistance programs. the Government give a \$1,000 grant to every man, woman and child in the land, whether working or not. Yet McGovern, every bit as compulsive a worker as Nixon, is solidly in favor of the work ethic, saying "I have very little patience with people who somehow feel that it is of no consequence if they do not work." He contends that most people share his dedication to toil, and will work if only given the opportunity

But will they? Or is the work ethic really in



value leisure time more than time-and-a-half Beyond that, an increasing number of Americans see no virtue in holding jobs that they consider menial or unpleasant. More and more reject such work-even if they can get no other jobs. Though unemployment is a high 5.5% of the labor force, shortages of taxi drivers, domestic servants, auto

mechanics and plumbers exist in many places.

Young adults are particularly choosy; many have little interest in the grinding routine of the assembly line or in automated clerical tasks like operating an addressing machine or processing a payroll. The nation's 22.5 million workers under 30, nursed on television and still showing their Spock marks, may in fact be too educated, too expectant and too anti-authoritarian for many of the jobs that the economy offers them. Affluence, the new rise in hedonism, and the antimaterialistic notions expressed in Charles Reich's The Greening of America have turned many young people against

their parents' dedication to work for the sake of success. More than the youth are uneasy. A Gallup poll of workers of all ages last year showed that 19% were displeased with their jobs, up from 13% in 1969. Observes Psychiatrist Robert Coles: "Working people with whom I have talked make quite clear the ways they feel cornered, trapped, lonely, pushed around at work and confused by a sense of

These developments should not come as too much of a

surprise, considering that only fairly recently in human development has man-or woman-had anything but contempt for work. The Greeks, who relied on slaves for their work, thought that there was more honor in leisure-by which they meant a life of contemplation-than in toil. As Aristotle put it: "All paid employments absorb and degrade the mind." Christianity finally hestowed a measure of dignity on work. Slaves and freemen are all one in Christ Jesus, said St. Paul, adding: "If any one will not work, let him not eat." For the medieval monks, work was a glorification of God; the followers of St. Benedict, the father of Western monasticism, set the tone in their rule: "Luborare est orare"-to work is to pray. During the Reformation. John Calvin asserted that hard-earned material success was a sign of God's predestining grace, thus solidifving the religious significance of work. Around Calvin's time, a new, commerce-enriched middle class rose. Its members challenged the aristocracy's view that leisure was an end in itself and that society was best organized hierarchically. In its place they planted business values, sanctifying the pursuit of wealth through work.

The Puritans were Calvinists, and they brought the work ethic to America. They punished idleness as a serious misdemeanor. They filled their children's ears with copybook maxims about the devil finding work for idle hands and God helping those who help themselves. Successive waves of immigrants took those lessons to heart, and they aimed for what they thought was the ultimate success open to them -middle-class status. They almost deified Horatio Alger's fictional heroes, like Ragged Dick, who struggled up to the middle class by dint of hard work.

During the Great Depression, the work ethic flourished because people faced destitution unless they could find something productive to do. World War II intensified the work ethic under the banner of patriotism. While the boys were on the battlefront, the folks on the home front serenaded Rosie the Riveter: a long day's work was a contribution to the national defense. In sum, the American work ethic is rooted in Puritan piety, immigrant ambition and the success ethic; it has been strengthened by Depression trauma and wartime patriotism.

Not much remains of that proud heritage. Today, in a time of the decline of organized churches, work has lost most of its religious significance. Horatio Alger is camp. Only a minority of workers remember the Depression. Welfare and unemployment benefits have reduced the absolute necessity of working, or at least made idleness less unpleasant.

Automation has given many people the ethic-eroding impression that work may some day be eliminated, that machines will eventually take over society's chores. Says John Kenneth Galbraith: "The greatest prospect we face is to eliminate toil as a required economic institution.

Do all these changes and challenges mean that Americans have lost the work ethic? There is considerable evidence that they have not. After all, more than 90% of all men in the country between the ages of 20 and 54 are either employed or actively seeking work-about the same percentage as 25 years ago. Over the past two decades, the percentage of married women who work has risen from 25% to 42%. Hard-driving executives drive as hard as they ever did. Even welfare recipients embrace the work ethic. In a recent study of 4,000 recipients and non-recipients by Social Psychologist Leonard Goodwin, those on welfare said that, given a chance, they were just as willing to work as those not on welfare

Despite signs to the contrary, young people retain a strong nmitment to work. A survey of college students conducted by the Daniel Yankelovich organization showed that 79%



ST. BENEDICT



96



"Leave it to good old G.M. to break the monotony of the assembly line!"

DRAW MS BY ALAN DINN BURYS THE NEW YORKER MASAZING UN

believe that commitment to a career is essential. 75% helieve that collecting welfare is immoral for a person who can work, and only 30% would welcome less emphasis in the U.S. on hard work

What is happening is that the work ethic is undergoing a radical transformation Workers, particularly younger ones. are taking work more seriously, not less. Many may have abandoned the success ethic of their elders, but they still believe in work. Young and old are willing to invest more effort in their work, but are demanding a bigger payoff in satisfaction. The University of Michigan Survey Research Center asked 1.533 working people to rank various aspects of work in order of importance. "Good pay" came in a distant fifth, behind "interesting work," "enough help and equipment to get the job done," "enough information to do the job," and "enough authority to do the job."

Indeed in labor contract negotiations expected to begin early next summer, the United Auto Workers intend to make a major point of its demand for increased participation by workers in decision-making within plants. "People look at life in different ways than they used to," says Douglas Fra-ser, a U.A.W. vice president. "Maybe we ought to stop talking about the work ethic and start talking about the life

The trouble is that this new humanistic, holistic outlook on life is at odds with the content of many jobs today. Most white collar work involves elemental, mind-numbing clerical operations. Factory work is usually dull and repetitive, and too often dirty, noisy, demeaning and dangerous as well. killed 14,200 U.S. workers. In most auto assembly plants, a worker must even get permission from his foreman before he can go to the bathroom. The four-day week offers no real prospect for humanizing work; doing a boring job for four days instead of five is still an empty experience. Charles Reich says: "No person with a strongly developed aesthetic sense. a love of nature, a passion for music, a desire for reflection, or a strongly marked independence could possibly be happy in a factory or white collar job. A few enlightened employers have concluded that work.

not workers, must change. Says Robert Ford, personnel director at American Telephone & Telegraph: "We have run out of dumb people to handle those dumb jobs. So we have to rethink what we're doing." In restructuring work, corporate experimenters have hit on a number of productive and promising ideas. Among them:

Give workers a totality of tasks In compiling its telephone books, Indiana Bell used to divide 17 separate operations among a staff of women. The company gradually changed, giving each worker her own directory and making her responsible for all 17 tasks, from scheduling to proofreading. Results: work force turnover dropped, and errors, absenteeism and overtime declined.

Break up the assembly line. A potentially revolutionary attempt at change is under way in the Swedish auto industry. Volvo and Saab are taking a number of operations off the assembly line. Some brakes and other sub-assemblies are put together by teams of workers; each performs several operations instead of a single repetitive task. In the U.S., Chrysler has used the work team to set up a conventional engineassembly line: two foremen were given complete freedom to design the line, hand-pick team members and use whatever tools and equipment they wanted.

Permit employees to organize their own work. Polaroid lets its scientists pursue their own projects and order their own materials without checking with a supervisor; film assembly workers are allowed to run their machines at the pace they think best. A T & T eased supervision of its shareholder correspondents and let them send out letters to complainants over their own signatures, without review by higher-ups. Absenteeism decreased and turnover was practically eliminated. Syntex Corp. allowed two groups of its salesmen to set their own work standards and quotas; sales increased 116% and 20% respectively over groups of salesmen who were not given that freedom.

Let workers see the end product of their efforts. Chrysler has sent employees from supply plants to assembly plants so they can see where their parts fit into the finished product. The company has also put assembly-line workers into inspection jobs for oneweek stints. Said one welder: "I see metal damage, missing welds and framing fits that I never would

Let workers set their own hours. In West Germany, some 3,500 firms have adopted "sliding time." In one form of the plan, company doors are open from 7 a.m. until 7 p.m., and factory or office workers can come in any time they like, provided that they are around for "core time," from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., and they put in a 40-hour week. Productivity is up, staff turnover is down, and absenteeism has fall-

Freat workers like mature, responsible adults. A few firms are attempting to give workers more status and responsibility. In its Topeka, Kans., plant, for example. General Foods has climinated reserved parking spaces for executives, banished time clocks, made office size dependent not on rank but on need, abandoned the posting of in-plant behavior rules and put the same carpeting in workers' locker rooms as in executives' offices.

The work ethic is alive, though it is not wholly well It is being changed and reshaped by the new desires and demands of the people. "The potential of the work ethic as a positive force in American industry is extremely great," says Professor Wickham Skinner of the Harvard Business School. "We simply have to remove the roadblocks stopping individuals from gaining satisfaction on the job. The work ethic is just waiting to be refound.

In the new ethic, people will still work to live, but fewer will live only to work. As Albert Camus put it: "Without work all life goes rotten. But when work is soulless, life stifles and dies," It will be a long while, if ever, before men figure out ways to make the work of, say, a punch-press operator or a file clerk soul-enriching. While waiting for that millennium-which may require entirely new forms of work -bosses who expect loyalty from their employees should try to satisfy their demands for more freedom, more feeling of participation and personal responsibility, and more sense of accomplishment on Donald M. Morrison







71ME, OCTOBER 30, 1972

CHARLES REICH

Merrill Lynch announces 29 ways your money could make more money.

D⁵ YOU KNOW how to make \$100 work like \$1,000?
Do you know how to invest in big

real estate projects—without having big

Do you know how to get 7 percent on your money—with payment of interest and principal guaranteed by the Federal Government?

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investors have a hard time keeping up.
This list ought to help. It'll tell you a little about nearly every kind of investment. A Merrill Lynch Account Executive can tell you a lot more.

Check off the ways that interest you. Then see our offer at the end of the list for details.

How to hedge against inflation.

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Stocks offer the most direct way to share in the fortunes of major American companies. For example, take the companies in the S&P 500. In the last 10 years, the price of their stocks wert up a hefty 85 percent—while dividends nose-49 percent. Of course, past history is not necessarily a guide to the future. But we recommend listed stocks more often than any other kind of investment. Long term, they're tough to beat.

☐ 2. Long-term growth funds:
Diversification and professional management for a fee. When you buy one of the 12 growth funds offered by Merrill Lynch, you get something extra. Our Security Analysts keep an eye on what the funds are doing and issue periodic reports.

3. Convertible bonds: Convertible into the common stock of the company that issued the bond. They offer a way to earn a decent rate of interest, plus a chance for growth in capital. But you'll need your thinking cap. Con-

vertibles are hard to understand.

4. Convertible preferred

stocks: Convertible into the common stock of the company that issued the preferred. They're often bought for the same reasons as convertible bonds.

How to get tax-free or tax-sheltered income.

☐ 5. Municipal bonds: Issued by states, cities, and towns. Their big advantage: the interest they pay is free from Federal income taxes. So the net return can get very attractive. If your joint taxable income is \$30,000, for example, a \$94¢ percent return on municipals is like getting 9 percent on a taxable investment.

☐ 6. Tax-free notes: Similar to municipal bonds, except that notes pay the face amount in less than a year. Some investors in high tax brackets use tax-free notes as a way to keep their money working between major commitments.

7. Municipal bond funds: With as little as \$1,000, you can invest in a portfolio of many different municipal bonds, each chosen by professionals. The income is exempt from Federal

8. Deep discount bonds: Sell for a lot less than the face amount because they were issued when interest rates were lower. The tax advantage: When you collect the face amount (usually \$1,000), your profit is taxed as a capital gain, not as ordinary income.

☐ 9. Retirement programs (self-employed): Doctors, lawyers, and other self-employed people can get many of the retirement income benefits of people who work for big corporations. The tax advantage: Within limits, you don't have to pay Federal taxes on the money you put into your plan until you retire.

☐ 10. Flower bonds: U.S. Government bonds with a special feature. You buy them at a discount. But the Federal Government will accept them at full value in payment of Federal estate taxes (which is why they're called

"Investment in Tax-sheltered investment programs: A way to buy an interest in businesses like real estate and eather feeding. The tax advantage: Accounting for depreciation and other factors will probably lead to tax write-offs in the early years. You'll need a substantial amount in net assets to join-and you should check with your tax consultant.

How to boost your retirement income—without going out on a limb.

☐ 12. Ginnie Mae pass-throughs: A way to get better than 7 percent on your money with payment of principal and interest guaranteed by the Federal Government. Special feature: Ghaes Mae's return part of the principal with the interest every month. Minimum investment: \$25,000.

☐ 13. Corporate bonds: A way to could be a feed of the feed of th

☐ 14. Corporate bond funds: With as little as \$1,000, you can invest in a portfolio of many different corporate bonds. Professional managers choose the bonds, arrange for safekeeping, and collect the interest. You receive your pro rata share of the interest every month.

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stocks and bonds. The objective is income plus modest growth. Some of our balanced funds offer a check-amonth plan—a very nice way to supplement Social Security.

☐ 16. Writing options: A way to increase the current income of a stock portfolio without sacrificing quality. You sell the right (an "option") to buy your stock to other investors. Sometimes, the price you get is high enough to equal several years' worth of dividends.

How to earn 7 to 10 percent on your money—right now.

☐ 17. Real estate investment trusts: A way to invest in big real estate projects — without having big money. Many real estate trusts cost less than 550 a share. Dividend yield can run as high as 10 percent, but picking the good trusts takes a sharp eye for quality.

☐ 18. Preferred stocks: Unlike common stocks, preferred stocks have a fixed dividend rate. Many high-grade preferreds currently pay 7 to 8 percent.

How to invest as little as \$40 in Big Board stocks.

☐ 19. Special Investor Accounts:
A way to buy stock by the dollar's
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from a list approved by our Research
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worth whenever you wish. You can inwest by mail or through your Merrill
Lynch Account Executive. Your dividends can be reinvested automatically.

How to earn 3 to 7% with maximum safety.

20. U.S. Treasury Bills: Mature in up to a year. Have paid from 3.0 to over 5.8 percent in 1972. Note: If you have to put up collateral for something, you can often do it with Treasury Bills, instead of with no-interest cash. Minimum investment: \$10,000.

☐ 21. U.S. Treasury Notes:
Mature in up to 7 years, have paid
from 4 to over 6.5 percent in 1972, depending on the life-span of the Note.
Like all Federal obligations, Treasury
Notes are guaranteed by the U.S. Government. Minimum investment: \$1,000.

22. U.S. Treasury Bonds: Mature in up to 26 years, have paid better than 6.7 percent in 1972. Minimum investment: \$1,000. (These are not the Savings Bonds most people are familiar with.)

☐ 23. U.S. Government Agency securities: Not issued by the Federal Government, but some have the Government guarantee. Yields now run from 4 to better than 7 percent, depending on the specific security and maturity date.

How to try for maximum growth (if you can stand the risks).

☐ 24. Common stocks (Over-the-Counter): Some OTC stocks are as solid as blue-chips, but a lot of them tend to have wide price swings. Which means a chance for big profits (or equally big losses). At Merrill Lynch, we make a market in over 600 leading OTC stocks.

□ 25. Selling short: A way you could make money on a stock that's going down. You borrow the stock from us (on margin), and sell it at the current market price. Then, if the price goes down, you buy the stock and "cover" your sale. Some people make a lot of money this way, but it's a risky

26. Buying options: Often called "puts and calls," options offer a

way to make \$100 work like \$1,000. But watch out. Leverage works both

27. Commodity futures: The opportunities for profit are enormous. So are the risks. But if you have a substantial amount in risk capital, \$50,000 in liquid assets, and plenty of self-control, we can show you a businesslike approach to commodity speculation.

How to get professionals to invest for you.

☐ 28. Investment counseling: Lionel D. Edie & Company, Inc., a Merrill Lynch subsidiary, invests substantial sums for a fee. The minimum portfolio is \$500,000.

29. Portfolio Development Programs: Offered by Lionel D. Edie & Company for accounts from \$25,000 and up. You state your investment objective, they'll develop a portfolio to match. Then they'll keep tabs on your progress and do all the buying and selling. Maximum annual fee is one percent of the amount invested.

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Merrill Lynch is bullish on America.



The U.S. Nobelmen

made a clean sweep of the 1972 Nobel Prizes in Physics and Chemistry. One of them, Physics is John Bardeen, 64, who shared the physics award, became the first person ever to win two Nobel Prizes in the same field: in 1956 he was awarded his first Nobel Prize as coinventor of the transistor.

Barden shared this year's physics prize twork 598,100) with his former University of Illinois colleagues, Leon N. Coope, 32, now forwar Living and John Schrieffer, 31, of the shared for the former than the shared that the shared for their fundamental to superconductivity, a phenomenon that occurs in certain metals when they are collised close to absolute zero training 459,7° F. Jin that state they loss all resistance to the flows of leveric current.

sistance to the flow of electric current Although superconductivity was discovered in 1911, it was not really exhibited to the control of the

gy of thermonuclear fusion. The chemistry prize, also worth \$98,100, went to Christian Anfinsen, 56, of the National Institutes of Health and Rockefeller University's Stanford Moore, 59, and William H. Stein, 61 for their work on enzymes. Made up of long, folded chains of amino acids, these proteins are essential intermediaries or catalysts, in the body's vital chemical reactions. Anfinsen showed how the threedimensional shape of an enzyme-critical to its role in those reactions-is dictated by the order in which its amino acids occur. Moore and Stein, studying the same enzyme-ribonuclease -ingeniously unraveled its sequence of 124 amino acids Such work has farreaching implications in medicine and industry, which uses enzymes to speed

industry, which uses enzymes to speed up the chemical reactions in the manufacturing of paper, textiles, drugs and other common products.

The Valley of Marvels

For centuries, the only visitors to the snowbound "Valley of Marvels," high in the Alps of Southeastern France, were shephereds and mountain climbers who risked the punishing 6.000-ft. treft from the village of \$1.00 Januars-de-Tende. 30 miles northeast of Nice. The travelers all brough back tales of mysterious rock carvings, but no one could explain their origin. Were the ancient



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home. Wherever you see BankAmericard's blue, white and gold "Welcome



Think of it as money



artists some Carthaginians who once lived in the region? Were they prehistoric men? Now, as a result of on-site study by a French archaeologist, the secrets of the carvings are beginning to come clear.

Henry de Lumley, who has led many teams of volunteer explorers into the valley during snow-free summer months, believes that the primitive art was inscribed between 1800 B.C. and 1500 B.C. Thus the carvings belong "not to prehistory but to protohistory-that period of roughly 2,000 years between prehistoric times and recorded history. De Lumley's dating involved shrewd detective work in museums. The short, triangular dagger blades portrayed in many of the engravings, for instance, closely resemble artifacts already identified as products of early Bronze Age (1800 B.C.-1500 B.C.) civilizations in the Rhone Valley and Swiss lake villages. Other daggers with either oval or elongated blades, concave edges and T-shaped hilts are typical of middle Bronze Age weapons made between 1500 B.C. and 1100 B.C.

The Bronze Age artists used a curtious technique; with a tool made from hard rock, possibly quartz, they hammered or scraped groups of closely spaced small holes, I mm to 5 mm in diameter. Significantly, the most painstakingly executed samples of valley craftsmarship are found in the earliest engravings. Later artists were countered work became burred and uneven

The engravings include a rich but haffling array of symbols. The most frequently recurring images are horned figures—what De Lumley calls "stylized cattle." There are also daggers, crosslike inscriptions, stars and geometric forms, all of which may have had reforms, all of which may have had re-

"CHIEF OF TRIBE" CARVING

ligious significance. Only a few hundred of the 37,000 engravings catalogued thus far portray human figures one example, known as the "Chief of the Tribe," shows a man formed almost entirely out of horn symbols.

they due to north symmons.

If they were the second second

Unfortunately, the valley's treasure may also soon be lost. It is now being threatened by an onslaught of tournst and souwern hunters who use chalk or abrasive stone on the engravings to make them stand out more clearly for snapshots. Some vandals have even backed engravings out of rock faces or candidate the control of the engraving out of rock faces or candidate the engraving out of the engraving of the engra

Fallout from Cannikin

The Atomic Energy Commission's announcement that it planned to test a multimegaton nuclear device under the Aleutian island of Amchitka last November touched off a shock wave of protest. Some critics charged that the explosion of an H-bomb in a region that was already known to be seismically active could trigger devastating quakes and the great sea waves, known as tsunamis, that often follow them. Environmentalists made dire predictions of a wildlife massacre. Nonetheless, the test took place, and it did not cause serious tremors or lasting environmental damage. Instead, after months of careful analysis. U.S. Government scientists now report that the Cannikin blast may well have provided some highly beneficial information. The fluctuations in the earth's magnetic field that resulted from the blast, they say, could help in

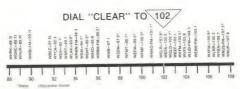
MYSTERIOUS BRONZE AGE SYMBOL



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SCIENCE

the development of an accurate method of predicting major earthquakes

That conclusion, by Wilfred P. Hasbrouck and Joe H. Allen of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, is based on readings from magnetometers set up on Amchitka before Cannikin. Sensitive instruments were placed on each side of one of the faults that cross the thin 42-mile-long Aleutian island. A magnetometer on the side where the nuclear device was detonated quickly registered an increase of nine gammas* in the local magnetic field. On the opposite side of the fault from ground zero, the intensity of the magnetic field was found to have dropped by as much as eleven gammas after the test.

Squeezed Field. Hasbrouck and Allen theorize that on the side of the fault where the blast occurred, the rock was compressed. As a result, the magnetic particles in the rock were squeezed closer together, and the magnetic field was intensified. On the opposite side of the fault, the explosion resulted in a stretching force on the rock, pulling the magnetic particles apart and thus reduc-

ing the field's intensity.

Scientists have known that the buildup of stresses in the earth before dangerous quakes is often accompanied by slight changes in the magnetism of local rock. But there have been few measurements of that geopiezomagnetic effect before or during actual quakes. With more data like those gathered during Cannikin. Hasbrouck and Allen hope, scientists should be able to determine accurately the relationship between accumulated stress and the magnetic changes in an earthquake zone Then, by monitoring the magnetic field, they may well be able to forecast serious upheavals.

The Female Male

Word may not have filtered down to local chapters of Women's Lib, but a renegade group has been found among the ranks of Australian females. Both sexes of Labroides dimidiatus, an unprepossessing little fish of the wrasse family that lives in the waters of the Great Barrier Reef, are rampant male chauvinists. Not only do the males rule the reef, but the females like the idea so much that they turn into males themselves at the first opportunity.

After careful observation of many groups of wrasse, D.R. Robertson, a zoologist at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, found that the death or disappearance of a male has a startling effect on one of the several female fish in his harem; she becomes a male. Within a few hours of her liberation from the influence of a male, the head female in the harem begins to display male mannerisms. She reconnoiters the borders of the absent male's territory and pays aggressive calls on the other females. Within four days her courtship and *Units of magnetic intensity

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spawning behavior cannot be distinguished from a male's. From 14 to 18 days after her accession to power she actually becomes a functioning male, physiologically capable of releasing sperm.

Over a period of 25 months, Robertson studied 19 different harems of 1 dimidiatus and recorded 48 instances of sex transformation. "Probably all females are capable of changing sex," Robertson writes in Science, and most (possibly all) have testicular elements within perfectly functional ovaries. What prevents wholesale sex transformation by the females in a harem is a chain of authority extending downward from the lone male. A former female (like most other males of this species). he bullies the strongest female, who in turn is overhearing toward the female under her, and so on down the social scale. As long as a wrasse remains un-



PAIR OF "LABROIDES DIMIDIATUS" Rampant males on the reef.

der the stress of domination, its body apparently does not produce the hormones necessary to effect a sex change. Once that stress is removed, however, hormone production is no longer inhibited, and a rapid transformation occurs.

Protogyny (the development of a male from a functional female) is not uncommon among other kinds of tropical fish. But the rigid hierarchy of the wrasse harems represents a much more stringent control over the production of males than is found in the comparatively random sex reversals of "schooling" fish. Robertson believes that the inbreeding produced by this aquatic pecking order is genetically advantageous to the species. Because "the social organization is a framework within which the selective process works," he concludes, the genes passed on by each male wrasse are those best adapted to the environment of the harem

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CINEMA

Winter Dreams

THE KING OF MARVIN GARDENS
Directed by BOB RAFELSON
Screenplay by JACOB BRACKMAN

THE IDEA OF THE GAME is to BUY and RENT or SELL properties so profitably that one becomes the wealthiest player and eventually WINS.—Rules of Monopoly

"Hey, you ever notice how it's all monopoly out there" Jason Staebler asks his brother David from behind the bars of an Atlantic City jail. Now, nearly deserted in winter. Jong past its honky-ionk glory. Atlantic City survives like a huge, standing game board, readents and random vacultoners wanted the work of the control of the contr

enough, as the Staeblers will discover, to get out of jail. There is no way, though, out of the game.

David (Jack Nicholson) is a latenight radio monologuist. Shy, selfabsorbed to the point of obsession, he is a kind of EM Buddy Glass who rummages through his memories and Ianmages through his memories and Ianophpham, Thao old, irresiatibly Jaccinating lim begins with one of his stories. I promised to tell you why I never eat fish. 'David says to his radio audience, cembarking on a desultory saga about how, years before, he and his brother with a neige of breaded sole and be-

embarking on a desultory saga anount how, years before, he and his brother Jason conspired to kill their grandfather with a piece of breaded sole and become "accomplices forever." The old man is very much alive, of course; David lives with him still, until a message arrives from Jason in Atlantic City: "Get your ass down here. Our kingdom is come."

Jason (Bruce Dern) lives like some



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*Source: Newspaper publishers' statement

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HUNGARIAN EGRI BIKAVER

So attertingly defferent are the design and that you wen't really believe it only you see that the you wen't really believe it only you see the HAVERGOOD STORED AS NOT A SEE AND A SEE AN

CINEMA

sleazy sultan, complete with a harem consisting of an aging, manic coquette (Ellen Burstyn) and her empty-eyed stepdaughter (Julie Anne Robinson). He is a wheeler-dealer in shopworn dreams, an anxious scam artist with a line of patter that makes him sound like one of Eugene O'Neill's drummers. David, ever skeptical, eventually lets himself he suckered in, more to demonstrate a kind of desperate solidarity with his brother than anything else. The scheme is an old Staebler fantasy: take over an island called Tiki in the Hawaiian archipelago, build a casino, rake in the bucks.

Five Easy Pieces. Bob Rafekon's previous film, was a good, sharply observed melodrama. The King of Marson Gardens how the same certained, thythmic editing and unemphatic camera for dramatic nuance. Marsin Gardens may not be as successful as Five Easy Pieces, yet in many ways its more interesting and certainly more daring—the work of a stalented director try-

ing to extend himself. Rafelson and Scenarist Brackman understand their two played-out heroes without ever condescending to them, although both writer and director are often guilty of using the same kind of tin-ear dialogue and trite image that David himself might employ in one of his tortuous monologues. One of Rafelson's most certain talents is a nearly preternatural instinct for working with actors, and Nicholson and Dern give consummate performances. In such diverse parts as the bemused attorney in Easy Rider, the laborer and fugitive musician in Live Easy Pieces, the tomcat of Carnal Knowledge, Nicholson has already displayed remarkable range. David. so thoroughly introverted, so tentative, is the most demanding role he has had so far partly because it does not give him the chance to do what is easy for him -display sudden rage, ruthlessness, a casual, cunning kind of cool. Here, wearing a slowly unraveling cardigan and squinting nervously behind a pair of glasses forever smudged with fingerprints. Nicholson invests David with real turmoil and vulnerability

For nearly a decade, Dern has been playing featured parts in everything from The Incredible Two-Headed Transplant to The Cowhoys, and this kind of apprenticeship has taught him how to turn a scene with a shrug or an



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CINEMA

inflection. Now, with the rich role of Jason, Dern's identis can really unfold. He has an almost combustible uncertainty that shaked Jason's assurance with doubt and intimations of defeat. Dern also moves Jason beyond the more obvious pyrotechnics to which the script which the carbon of the properties of the properti

Bore War

YOUNG WINSTON

Directed by RICHARD ATTENBOROUGH Screenplay by CARL FOREMAN

You may recall The Gum of Navarnne Gregory Peek, indomitable as ever, was the leader of a crack World War II commando unit dispatched to destroy a brobdingnagian Nazi artillery unit. En route, Peek and his troops would often denounce the ironies of faste and the horrors of war, then slugghter like Saracens when they finally came up against the foe.

Apparently impressed with the leadsoldier shenanigans of Navarone. Winston Churchill summoned its writerproducer Carl Foreman, talked with him about the movie, and about such previous Foreman scripts as The Bridge on the River Rwai. Foreman was just the man to write a movie version of his

On the evidence of Young Winston. Foreman mistook this commission for a knighthood. The film that he and Director Attenborough (Oh What a Lovely War) have whittled out of all the dispatches, memoirs and histories is an itseptic and servile, as empty of consistent in the service as empty of constant of the service as empty of the service as expected on the servi

flict as a biographical entry in the Britannica. The movie even employs an offscreen journalist, whose task it is to badger Young Winston (Simon Ward). his father Lord Randolph (Robert Shaw) and American mother (Anne Bancroft) with indelicate inquiries. What precisely was the nature of your husband's last illness?" the journalist sneers from behind the camera, adding after an evasive answer, "Come, come, Lady Randolph, we live in modern times. Surely the word syphilis need hold no terrors for us." Lord Randolph's death, like his personal life, like his wife's love affairs and vaulting ambition for her son, is minimized with a few such fumbling innuendoes, and curiosity or concern over such matters is reduced to scandalmongering.

Better Luck. What remains is an enervating epic about a young man, unpromising at school, whose parents did not pay him quite enough attention. Since Young Winston attempts to be a kind of vest-pocket spectacle, there are also a couple of the battles in which he fought to set-to in the Sudan, a Boer skirmish). Attenborough stages them with all the fury of a grade school recess. He has better luck with the actors, perhaps because he is an actor himself Ward is credible in the thorny role of Winston as a young man. Shaw superb as his father. The secondary characters are all cast and played faultlessly, with Ian Holm as editor of the Times and Anthony Hopkins as Lloyd George especially engaging. Anne Bancroft. who ought to have been perfect as Lady Randolph, is thwarted largely by a part that asks her only to be coquettish or long-suffering. Young Winston suffocates her restless dynamism, just as it does the true power and substance of



WARD AS YOUNG WINSTON CHURC Indelicate inquiries and lead-soldier shenanigans.

CHURCHILL IN 1895

THE THEATER



Rent-Controlled Love

6 RMS RIV VU

There are some plays that a reviewer would rather feed than judge Like stray kittens, they rub up against you in an imploring, hard-to-resist way and make friendly little noises. They are so thin that one yearns to put flesh on the bones of their plots, give them vitaminrich lines to chew, and nourish their characters and situations.

6 Rus Riv Fit is just such a starveing kitten of a comedy. The title is classified-ad shorthand for an apartment with a river view. The locale is Manhattan. Inspecting the rent-controlled flat are two strangers. Anne Uane Alexander) and Paul (Jerry Orbach), both married, but with their respective spouses otherwise occupied. A missing doorknob effectively locks them in together

They begin giving each other resumed of their lives. He is levist. N.Y.U. She is Catholic. Barnard Coli. N.Y.U. She is Catholic. Barnard Coli. When the control of their lives of the sevents short stores. She is a devoted but middly discontented mother of two tosts. Since they both approach adulters with the subdued ardor of a visit to the dente of their lives. The sevent is the subdued ardor of a visit to the dente of their lives. The sevent of the sevent is the subdued ardor of a visit to the control of the sevent of the sevent

worthy in real life, but it is slim folder for a sexual comedy. In admirably well-keyed performances, Orbach and Alexander are adept at conveying the festering guilt of two fundamentally honorable people who are good at chatting, bad at cheating.

BOOKS

The Green Bouquet

One of the enduring literary parties games is birng the immortal losers of the Nobel Prize. Tolstory, Proust, Joyce, Kaffa and Rikke are but a few Despite the vagaries of the judging, the award certains by far the properties of the judging, the award by the period of the properties of the properties

As has been rumored for weeks, this year's winner is West German Novelist



PRIZEWINNER HEINRICH BÖLL A bomb in the shrine.

Heinrich Böll, respected man of letters, prominent leftis Roman Catholic intellectual, and among the earliest and most insistent examiners of his country's conscience since World War II. Still, the award did not escape gossip and second-guessing. The judges of Stockholm never publicly argue or explain their choice, but surely something more than art is involved.

This year, the story goes, Germany was ripe for recognition (Thomas Mann, in 1929, was the last German citizen to win). The other colorable candidate was Günter Grass, author of the savage sattle. The Fin Drum, Boll's triumph may well he due to a line in Alfred Noble's 100 wires on the savage sattle. The work of the savage sattle, and the savage sattle savage s

Son of a Cologne sculptor and cabinch Pact was signed in 1938. As a Wehrmacht draftee, he fought mostly on the Eastern front and was wounded four times. Later he wrote of "the frightful fate of being a soldier and having

to wish that the war might be lost After 1945 Böll worked as an assistant cabinetmaker but quit as soon as his first stories were published. A realist and an ironist, his prose is terse and direct, his manner as reticent and unflamboyant as Grass's is slashing and spectacular. The despair of war and its appalling hardship run through all his early work. For Böll, West Germany's postwar economic boom drowned out the moral voice of his country's guilty conscience. In 1959 he published Billiards at Half-Past Nine, a family chronicle in which the founding father is an architect who builds a famous religious shrine. Near the end of the war, his son, a demolitions expert, blows up the shrine unnecessarily because he is sick of the church's tolerance of the Nazis and disgusted by those who care more about the survival of their landmark than about the victims of the war. The Clown concerns the emotional collapse of a fellow who simply cannot accept the smug new prosperity. A new novel, Group Portrait with Ludy, about the effects of the war on a very complex woman, will be published in the spring.

Bell is an industrious writer: at \$5, the has turned out of books, not counting revisions or new collections. He likes the property of the pro

Einstein of the Mediocre

ST. GEORGE AND THE GODFATHER
by NORMAN MAILER
229 pages. Signet. \$1.50 (paperback).

Aquarius, the water bearer, has gone to the well once more. This time he is in Miami Beach, a few miles south of Cape Kennedy, site of his dewil hunt in Ot a Fire on the Moon. In the retrement capital of the world, Norman Mailer is on familiar ground. He has aleady freelanced his way through three national conventions, most tellingly at the street brawls in Chicago in 1968.

Observing the national conventions his year did not offer Norman Mailer the physical periss or intellectual brinks he has relished in the past. That turns out to be a good thing. There is not nearly so much of what he calls his "goo lib-cration"—those warm-up exercises and public temperature takings that have long since turned into self-parody. Mailer can get 'right down to the business.

of sniffing out the true spirit of the occasion. The result is that St. George and the Godluther (much of which originally appeared in LIFE) is a very brisk report on the dull goings on at Miami

Mailer relies at lead as much on his legs as he does on his punch. He attends the arrivals of the candidates; he noses around the cautes meetings for noses around the cautes meetings for the cautes of the cautes of the cautes few side trips. Like a true politician, Mailer does not miss the opportunity to continue his attack on Women's Libration Like a celebrity chance, he goes to the White House to interview Henry round has linger. But mostly Mailer does what Mailer does best tossing out metaphors, similes and off-cull vignettes.

usually making them stick.
There is Hubert Humphrey, "a Ren-

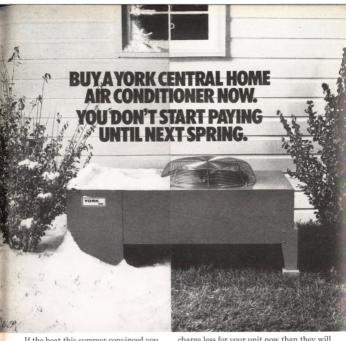


REPORTER NORMAN MAILER A shot at the wad.

aissance priest of the Vatican who could not even cross a marble floor without pieties issuing from his skirt." Ed Muskie, "a gentleman of the frontier out of the 19th century," ignominiously boxed between the new politics and the press. "Nobody," adds Mailer, "forgives a favorite who loses by seven lengths." Only Eugene McCarthy possesses.

the complexity and style that truly appect to Mailer. McCarthy is the with "philosopher prince" who shares the author's love of language. "I like McGovern." says Mailer. "but I just wish he spoke with a little metaphor from time to time." "Methodsits are not much on metaphor," replies McCarthy.

McGovern strikes Mailer ava thoroughly decent man—if not quite the St. George of the book's title then at least a minister of one of the two political parties that Mailer sees as possibly "the true churches of America." Yet Mc-Govern and his followers have for Mailer both an unbecoming air of innocence and an insufficiency of evil. In Mailerian terms, this usually means a lack of



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recognition of the demoniac part of hu-

A few weeks later at the Republican convention he finds all the demoniac presences he can handle. Unlike most Democrats, Mailer was not turned off by the G.O.P.'s carefully scripted agenda. In the stockholder-meeting monotony and evasive efficiency Mailer perceives the highest expression of Richard Nixon's political genius. In each say Mailer, if it week now to deer cousty have to consider youting for the President.

Awe. A good part of this attitude is Mailer's obvious awe of power and respect for professionalism, wherever found. But Nixon is even more in Mailer's eyes, not merely a political genius but an artist of the banal, "the Einstein of the mediocre and the inert." In an assute account of the psychological balance-sheet, Mailer sees that one egg thrown at a Republican matron by an antiwar demonstrator "can mop up the guilt of five hundred bombs" dropped

on Viet Nam.

Elsewhere he marvels at the way the Republicans filled the TV screen that "The Wad." as he calls the general public, will always watch something rather than nothing—and indeed be soothed by it. Mailer seems both fasting rather than nothing—and indeed be soothed by it. Mailer seems both fasting rather than nothing—and indeed the soothed by it. Mailer seems both fasting that the seems of the soothed by the soot

But more than anything else Mailer captures an atmosphere at the Republican national convention that resembles the eerie stillness at the eye of a hurricane. There Nixon, the complete centrist, rules by relocating his middle as the storm around him changes direction. *R.Z. Sheppard

Money Is Truffles

ident Eisenhower.

THE HOUSE OF ALL NATIONS by CHRISTINA STEAD 787 pages. Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

This is a long, unfathomably static but often exhilarating novel about money. There are 104 chapters, at least as many characters, and dialogue that runs on and on like ticker tape. Money is not a particularly easy subject for fiction. Miss Stead is no Balzac or Dickens: on the other hand, she is no Louis Auchincloss either. She is, however, obviously mesmerized by money and her sharpest writing is comment about it. "Certainly I understand the class war, says a rich old countess. "We steal from the pigs: the pigs know they want truffles and we want truffles when we see the pigs with them. Money is truffles."

The house of the title is the Banque

Mercure, a private bank for rich speculators flourishing in Paris during the grim days of 1931. (By no coincidence there was a famous whorehouse of the same name.) To the financial world it is known simply as Bertillon because its presiding and all-powerful genius is expx, elegant Jules Bertillon. Jules buys when the rest of the world is selling and he and his clients get rich as Europe

Around him swirl a vast collection of characters: the eccentric genius in grain futures, the Texas oil man (named Tanker!), blackmailers, thieves, underground Communists, wives, children—and mistresses, mistresses, mistresses, There is no plot, only the fitfully told story of Jules hevitable calastrophe. As the contraction of the cont



NOVELIST CHRISTINA STEAD
The charms of avarice.

Though there is still time to hedge, Bertillon of Bertillon goes down with his pride.

An Australian who lives in London, Christian Stead is known in the U.S. chiefly for another doorstop novel called *The Man Who Loved Children*. Both books were originally published shortly before World War II and forgotten for 30 years. They are more alike than may at first appear. *The Man Who Loved Children* is an obsessive, virulent chronicle of domestic agony—the kind of endless, patiently malevolent novel Eugene O'Neill might have written.

In the House of All Nations, the approach is similarly expansive but the intensity is missing. To write it the author drew on the years when she and her husband were employed in a bank that collapsed. She observed the motley incarnations of greed who hank that collapsed. She observed the motley incarnations of greed who the place, and obviously developed a grudging fascination with the charms of avarice. But she has set it all in motion with more gusto than discrimination.

MILESTONES

Born. To Senator Strom Thurmond, 69, South Carolina's maverick senior statesman (and most prominent physical fitness fanatic), who bolted the Democrats and became a Republican, and Nancy Thurmond, 25, Miss South Carolina of 1966: their second child, first son; in Greenwood, S.C. Name: James Strom Thurmond J.

Married. William Harrah, 61, gambing impresario who parlayed a bingo parlor into Nevada casinos (Harrah's Reno and Lake Tahoe clubs), second in winnings only to those of Howard Hughes; and Roxana Carlson, 32, a model; he for the fifth time, she for the second; at his Lake Tahoe estate.

Divorced. Andy Griffith, 46, drawlion country-boy actor (No Time for Sergeants, A Face in the Crowd), who went on to an eight-year TV stint as the corn-bread sheriif of Mayberry on the Andy Griffith Show; and Barbara Griffith, 46; after 23 years of marriage, two children; in Santa Monica, Calif.

Died. Orlando Wilson, 72. criminological actories in Prosperio, a stroke, in Prosperio, Calif. Wilson was dealy of the control of a stroke, in Prosperio, Calif. Wilson was dealy of the control of the prosperio of the control of the prosperio of the control of the prosperio of the control of

Died. Harlow Shapley, 86, Harvard astronomer who proved that the earth and its solar system lay at the fringes rather than the center of the Milky Way; after a long illness; in Boulder, Colo. Shapley's study of globular star clusters and the changing luminosity of variable stars led to new means of measuring the vast distances across space and helped to disprove the belief that the earth's sun stood at the center of the universe. During the '40s and '50s he focused his gaze on earthly affairs, vehemently opposing McCarthyism, assaults on academic freedom and a foreign policy built on anti-Communism.



As you're fighting your way to the top it helps to have a taste of what's up there.



CEROY Get a taste of what it's all about. Get the full taste of Viceroy. Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health VICEROY 17 mg. "tar," 1.3 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Apr. 72